



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

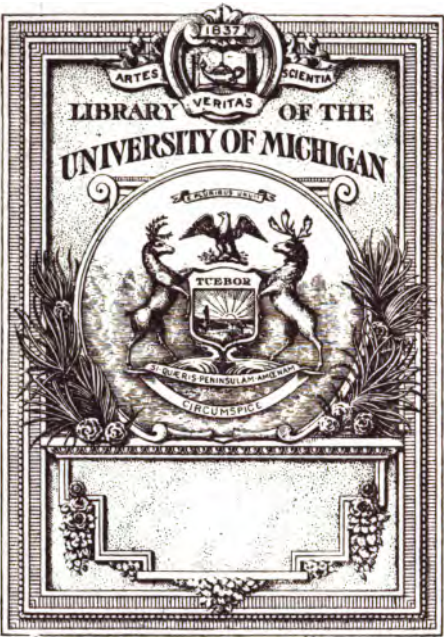
We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

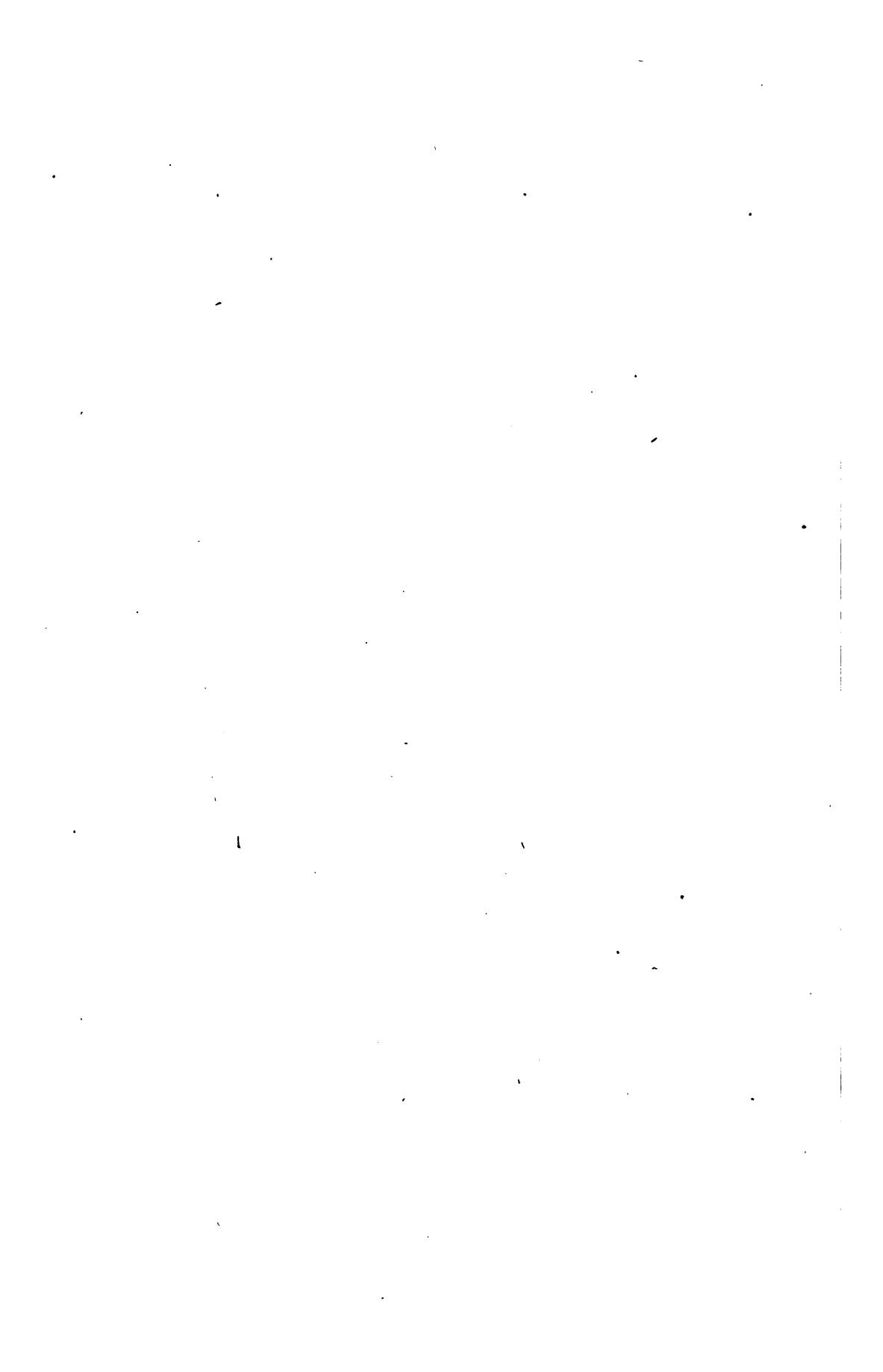
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

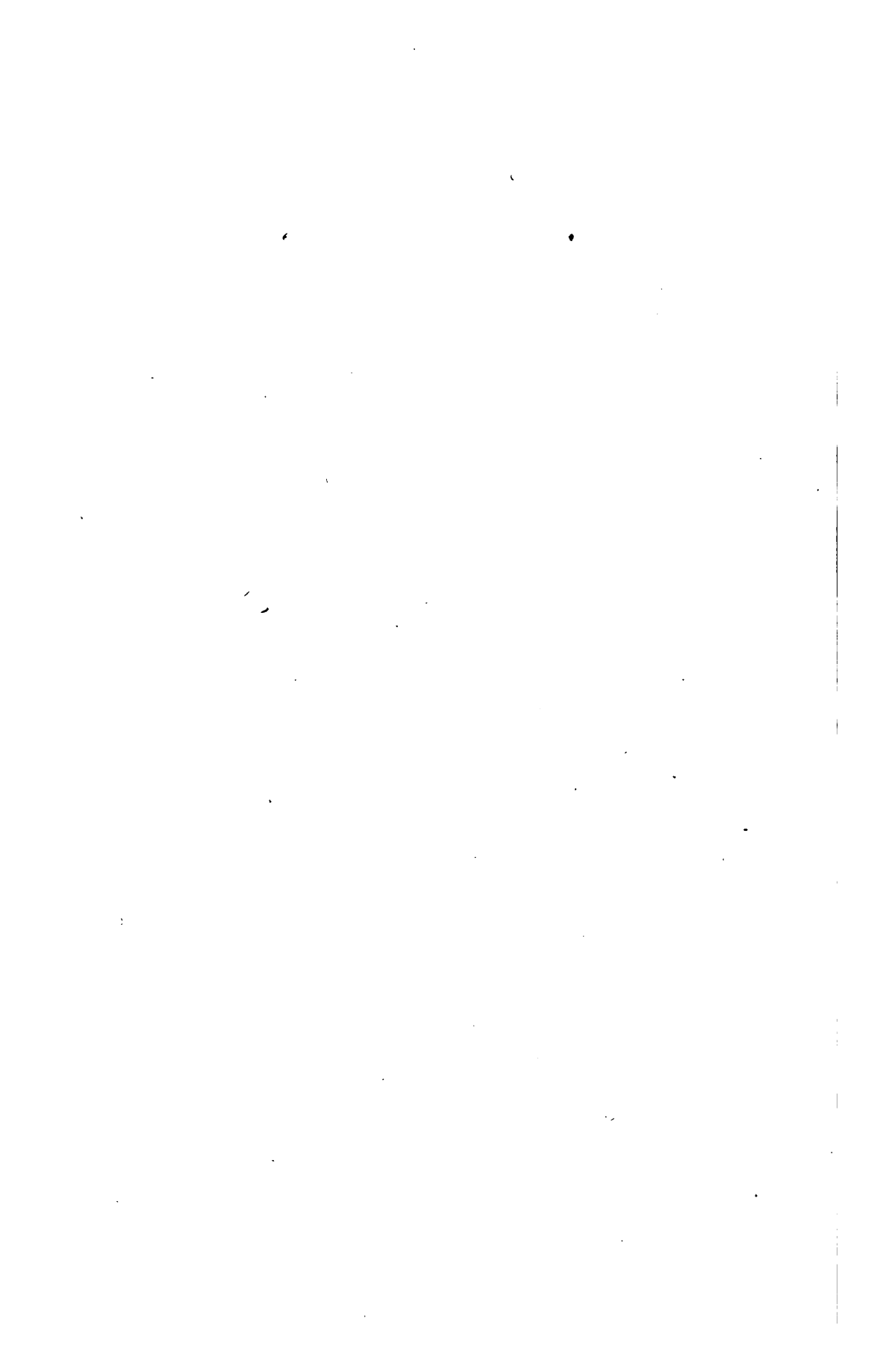
B 949,027



820.5
766







320.5
F66

YALE STUDIES IN ENGLISH

ALBERT S. COOK, EDITOR

XIV

THE LANGUAGE OF THE
NORTHUMBRIAN GLOSS TO THE
GOSPEL OF SAINT MATTHEW

PART I. PHONOLOGY

BY

EMILY HOWARD FOLEY, PH.D.



NEW YORK

HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY

1903

OXFORD : HORACE HART
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

PREFACE

THE following pages contain the results of my phonological investigation of the Lindisfarne Gospel of Matthew. The study is based upon the text of Skeat, *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian Versions*, Cambridge, 1887; and upon Cook's *Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels*, Halle, 1894. Where there is a difference between Skeat's and Cook's collations, I have chosen the latter's.

In the arrangement of my material, I have closely followed the order which Sievers employs in his Grammar, making West Germanic the point of departure. I have not always given every example illustrating the point in question; neither have I noted all the graphic variations of letters, such as æ- æ; ā- aa; u- wu; uu- vv.

The works which have proved most helpful in my investigation are listed in the Bibliography at the close of these pages. In addition to this acknowledgement, however, I must make special mention of three works which have given me an advantage over my predecessors in this field. I refer to Sievers' *Zum Angelsächsischen Vocalismus* (Decanatsprogramm); Bülbring's *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*; and Lindelöf's *Die Südnorthumbrische Mundart des 10. Jahrhunderts*. In this connexion it is only fair to add that the greater part of my work had been done before either of these last two books fell into my hands; indeed, I did not receive Lindelöf's volume till my manuscript was about to be sent to press. I therefore have attempted

nothing more than to incorporate mere references to the most significant of his suggestions and conclusions.

Furthermore, I must acknowledge aid from the *New English Dictionary*, a valuable source which Fuchsels does not mention.

My work in the main merely confirms, of course, the results of previous investigators; but in a few instances, which it is not necessary for me to specify, I trust that I have suggested considerations which others have overlooked, even though I may not have arrived at certainty.

In conclusion, it gives me pleasure to acknowledge the guidance which Professor Cook has given me in this task.

EMILY HOWARD FOLEY.

YALE UNIVERSITY,
May 29, 1902.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
A. THE VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES . . .	I
CHAPTER I. Short Vowels, §§ 1-5: a 1, e 5, i 7, o 9, u 11	1-12
CHAPTER II. Long Vowels, §§ 6-10: a 13, æ 14, ī 15, ō 16, ū 17	13-17
CHAPTER III. Diphthongs, §§ 11-14: ai 17, au 19, eu and iu 20, Special Northumbrian Diph- thongs 21	17-21
CHAPTER IV. Influence of Neighboring Sounds on Stressed Vowels, §§ 15-23: Influence of Nasals 21, The Breakings 23, The i-Umlaut 26, The u- and o/a-Umlaut 35, So-called Palatal Umlaut 37, Influence of Labials 39, Influence of Preceding Palatals 43, Hiatus and Contraction 44, Shifting of Quantity 46	21-47
B. THE VOWELS OF MEDIAL AND FINAL SYLLABLES	48
CHAPTER V. Suffixes, Prefixes, Compound Words, Medial Vowels, §§ 24-28: Suffix Ablaut 48, Prefixes 51, Second Members of Compounds 53, Changes of Final Sounds as Result of Apocope 54, Syncope of Middle Vowels 54	48-56
C. THE CONSONANTS	57
CHAPTER VI. Semi-Vowels, §§ 29-30: w 57, j 59	57-60
CHAPTER VII. Liquids and Nasals, §§ 31-34: r 60, l 61, m 61, n 62.	60-63

	PAGE
CHAPTER VIII. Labials, §§ 35-37: p 63, b 63, f 64	63-64
CHAPTER IX. Dentals, §§ 38-41: t 64, d 65, ṭ 66, s 68	64-68
CHAPTER X. Velars and Palatals, §§ 42-44: c 68, g 69, h 71	68-72
CHAPTER XI. Miscellaneous Phenomena, §§ 45-48: Gemination of Consonants 73, The Groups ft, ht, st 77, Grammatical Change 77, Svarabhakti 78	73-78
BIBLIOGRAPHY	79-81

PHONOLOGY

A. THE VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

CHAPTER I. SHORT VOWELS

§ 1. a.

IN originally closed syllables WGmc. *a* appears as *æ* (S. § 49).

I. *æ* before a simple consonant, or where the consonant has been doubled by the scribe, occurs in the following forms of the pret. ind. 1 and 3 sing. of the st. vbs. Cl. IV, V: *gebræcc* 14. 19; *tobræc* 27. 40; *gebær* 8. 17; *gespræc* 12. 22; *spræcc* 12. 46; *bæd* 27. 58 (beside *gebæd* 18. 26; *gebeaed* 26. 42); *begæt* 12. 43; *cwæð* I 17. 11 (beside *cweð* I 17. 18; v. S. § 391, anm. 10; F. pp. 4-5); *gesæt* 26. 69; *sætt* 26. 55 (beside *set* I 21. 2; *sętt* I 19. 8); also the pret. of the root *wes*: *wæs* I 6. 15; *wæss* 1. 19; *węs* 2. 3; *waes* I 7. 5 (2); likewise in the pret.-pres. vb. *mæga*: *mæg* 9. 28; *maeg* I 17. 9; and in the imp. of the st. vbs. Cl. VI: *fær* 2. 20; *gefær* 17. 20; cf. S. § 49, anm. 2; *Bülbring*, *Angl. Beib.* IX, 89-91; F. § 1 (1).

Other examples are: *æfist* I 1. 10; *æt* I 5. 5; *aet* I 6. 19; *æd* 13. 29 (S. §§ 43, 51, 130; for *d* and *t* v. §§ 38, 39); *bægling* I 3. 10; *bærlice* I 5. 4; *lehtfæt* 6. 22; *glædnise* 28. 8; *hwæt* I 1. 3; *huæs* 22. 20; *hrædlice* 8. 32; *ðæt* I 4. 4; *ðætte* 11. 23; *ðæs* I 3. 12; *bærsynnig* 18. 17; *gæt* 7. 14 (beside *geat* 7. 13; *geatt* 16. 18 (§ 21)); *bræccecc* 17. 15; *blæc* 5. 36; *dæg* 6. 34; *dæg(huæm)* 26. 55; *oferfær* (sb.) 1. 17; *scæl* 10. 8 mg.

glaeren I. 8. 3 is not clear to me; cf. NED. 'glass,' 'glare'; S. § 234.

II. æ is found before consonant groups in: æfter I 5. 11; æfter I 1. 1; ðætte 11. 23; gesægdnise 13. 11; soðfæst 1. 19 (beside soðfæstra 13. 49; soðfeasta 9. 13; soðfeastnise I 16. 14; wisfeast 19. 21; v. B. §§ 250, 251); fæste 27. 22; fæstnageð I 7. 7 (beside efnegefestnade I 21. 7; gefeastnadon I 22. 6; cf. *ibid.*); fæstnunga I 5. 4; gefrægn 22. 35 (beside gefragade 2. 16; gefraignad 2. 4; v. § 14); gebrægd 26. 51; gebrægdas 13. 22; gedærsted (?) (Lind.² § 64) 13. 33; dærstum 16. 6 (beside darste 16. 11); cræft 25. 24 (beside cræfta 25. 22); ongægn (?) 25. 6 (beside ongeaegn 25. 1; togægnas 27. 32); these words according to Lind.² § 9 may belong here, or they may be the result of umlaut (§ 21; *ibid.* § 66; cf. B. § 296); also in the pres. opt., pres. p., pret. ind., and pp. of habba and sæga (v. S. § 415, 1; cf. Bülbring, *Angl. Beib.* IX, 93): hæbbe 19. 16; hæbbend 9. 23; hæfdes 22. 12; næfde 22. 25; sægde I 18. 17; ecgesægde 22. 6; sæge 26. 63; furthermore in: hrægle 27. 28 (beside waghrahel 27. 51); wæstm 21. 29 (with disappearance of h before breaking, or pal-umlaut took place; v. S. § 165, anm. 3); wæstim I 19. 4; mægn 13. 54; mægen 11. 12; genæglede 27. 31; v. S. § 49.

e occurs in gers 14. 19 (3); unfegernis 24. 15 mg.

For the æ in plægde 11. 17, &c., v. S. § 416, anm. 13 b, 17.

Unexplained: nevdø I 4. 3; fræppigdon 21. 37; gefræpgedon 12. 10 (cf. Lea p. 68, note; Lind.² § 10, anm.; v. NED. 'frap'); gegræppde 14. 31 (v. S. § 405, anm. 10; cf. Lea § 24; Björkman, *Scand. Loan-Words in ME.* p. 54, note).

For the e in hehstald 25. 7 cf. Cook's Gloss.; F. p. 4; Lind.² § 11.

a occurs in ah I 17. 18; ac 16. 13; was 21. 42; v. S. § 49, anm. 1; asca 11. 21; lattera 12. 45; also in acas 3. 10 (S. § 50, anm. 2).

fās (fāsn) is Cook's way of glossing the word. It occurs in Mt. as fas 9. 20; fās 14. 36. Sweet and Hall give only

fæs, and Hall suggests as cognate Ger. 'faser'; v. also NED. 'fas.' Brown § 1 (2), p. 16, classifies the word with ā, as does Lea § 1, 4.

æ (eæ) occurs in the following loanwords: cæsetra 21. 2 (beside ceastra 5. 14, &c.; v. § 21, II; S. § 157, 3); meæssapreoste 17. 14 (beside mesapreostum 12. 4, &c.; meassepreost 8. 4, &c.; v. Pog. Index, 'mæssa'; also § 18 below).

III. In originally open syllables WGmc. a appears sometimes as a, and sometimes as æ. a occurs, if the following syllable contains a guttural vowel a, o, u. Examples occurring in the inflexion of the verbs are: aron 27. 63; aro 6. 26; arun 2. 20; fara 2. 22, &c.; gehlaðad 22. 3; magon 20. 22; maga 6. 24; ondsuarede 28. 5, &c. (beside ondsuorade 26. 23; also forms with e; v. S. § 416, anm. 13 c); talanna I 5. 7; getalad 10. 30; wiðsaca I 20. 16; fara 2. 22 (beside færa 19. 17; v. below).

Other examples are: talum I 3. 3; dwala I 2. 8, &c. (beside duola 27. 64, &c.; v. NED. 'dwell'); staðolfæst 16. 18; stafum I 2. 9; nacod 25. 36; stalo 19. 18; erendraca I 18. 17; sago I 9. 10; soðsaga I 7. 2; monslaga I 16. 15; dagas 9. 15; dagum 2. 1; fadores 13. 43; fatum 13. 48; hagaðorn 7. 16; onsacca I 4. 2; cuacende 8. 14; staplas 21. 12; blaccum I 4. 2; staras 10. 29; wracco I 1. 9; ðafendum I 20. 12; waccen 14. 25; wraðo 24. 48; wiðerbraca 5. 25 (4).

For the æ in lætmest 5. 26; mægdne (>mædne 14. 11); gaefel I 21. 10; cæfertun 26. 69; ædgædre 9. 17; hæcla 5. 40; gedæfnad 3. 15; fæsten I 7. 3; v. §§ 17, 21; also S., Decanatsp. p. 18 ff.; Lind.² § 10.

æ occurs in the inf. and pres. p. of the st. vbs. Cl. VI (S. § 50, anm. 2): gesæcca I 9. 2; sæccendum I 20. 20; færa 19. 17 (beside fara 2. 22); færenne 2. 22; færende 20. 30.

æ also occurs in hæfo 8. 9; sægo 18. 3, &c., where the influence of analogy is at work (cf. § 17).

For the æ in burgwæras 2. 3 v. § 20; F. p. 6.

4 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

IV. Before an original *e* that is not weakened from *a, o, u*, occurs as a rule *æ* (S. § 50, 2): *dæges* I. 20. 2; *dæge* 13. 1; *dæg* (ds.) 6. 34; *hræðe* 3. 16; *hraeðe* 26. 74 (S. § 315, anm. 2); *wæter* 14. 29; *wætrum* 8. 32; *stæfes* 5. 18; also in the 2 and 3 sing. ind. pres. and imp. sing. of *habba*, *sægga*; *hæfes* 19. 21; *hæfeð* (6) (beside *hafes* 13. 27); *hæfe* 5. 43; *sæges* 26. 70; *sægeð* 12. 18; *sæg* 15. 15; v. F. p. 6; S. § 415; Lind.² § 10.

The word *græfe* (*spelunca*) 21. 13 should be mentioned here. Under 'grave' (NED.) occurs the following sentence: 'The normal mod. representative of OE. *græf* would be *graff*; the ME. disyllabic *grave*, from which the standard mod. form descends, was probably due to the especially frequent occurrence of the word in the dat. (locative) case.' This seems inadequate as an explanation for the lengthening. Such a form as the above is significant indeed, if it may be regarded as evidence of secondary lengthening already begun.

There is shifting between *æ* and *a* in the inflexional system (S. § 50, 2). Examples are: ns.: *fæder* (2); *faeder* (3); *fader* (19); as.: *fæder* (5); *faeder* (4); *fader* (8); ds.: *fæder* (3); *fader* (3); *huales* (gs.), 12. 40; *bæccum* 23. 4; *gewære* 10. 17 (cf. S. § 294, anm. 1).

For *geslaegen* I 19. 4; *ahæfen* 23. 12 v. § 17; for *gefagen* 2. 10 v. S. § 391, anm. 6; Björkman, Scand. Loan-Words in ME. p. 111.

Of *afvlic* I 2. 11, Björkman (*ibid.* p. 20) in discussing the etymology of 'awkward' says:—'The first example of the word-stem in English is *afolic geflit*, "perversa contentio." Lindis. Gospels, which does not show the *k*-suffix, but seems to represent a ground form **afoh* (>**afog*) (cf. Murray, NED. I p. 596), which could be from Scand. *gfugr*, &c.'

Unexplained: *hwastana* I 20. 15; *baeligniso* 20. 13.

Loanwords: *bratt* 5. 4 (PG. p. 929; S., Decanatasp. pp. 15, 16); *latinum* I 1. 12; *camella* 3. 4; *tramitum* I 4. 9;

trametas I 2. 10; traht 14. 13 mg.; trachterum I 2. 1; intrahung I 2. 7; getrahtade I 19. 19; calic 20. 22 (beside cælces 23. 25 (§ 17, 1)); asales I 8. 6 (cf. PG. p. 929, § 2, 1); asalda 18. 6 (§ 39); anticrist I 6. 17. The a in allmissa I 17. 6 is given long by Pog. and Cook; but B. § 516 and Lind.² § 14 give it short. May not ll indicate æ? cf. § 45; v. PG. p. 929, § 2, 3. Also, sacleaso 28. 14; v. KL, PG. p. 934; Björkman, Scand. Loan-Words in ME. p. 12.

WGmc. a appears as o (not ɔ) in the proclitic prepositions (S. § 51): of 15. 5; on I 3. 10; onbindes 16. 19; onfoeð 7. 8; also in huothwoego 24. 17.

WGmc. a is affected by :

1. Following nasals, § 15.
2. Breaking before r-, h-, and l-combinations, § 16.
3. Preceding palatals, § 21.
4. Contraction, § 22.
5. i-Umlaut, § 17.

§ 2. e.

For the occurrence of e in Northumbrian v. the observations of Lindelöf § 4, Lea § 4, and Fücksel § 2. For the forms with u- and o/a-umlaut, and those influenced by w, v. §§ 18, 20.

I. Examples of e occur in the inflexion of the strong verbs of Cl. III, IV, V: fregno 21. 24 (PG. p. 933) (beside gefraignes 2. 8, &c.; v. § 14); help 20. 30; ofdelfes 6. 19; bellende I 7. 12; suelta 26. 35; geld 18. 28; f'stelað 6. 20; stelende 28. 13; breceð 12. 20; gebrececeð 21. 44; berendum 24. 19; cueð 6. 5; gecuedon (pp.) 13. 35; getreden 5. 13; tred . . . 21. 33 mg.; begettes 17. 27; ongeten 22. 18; spreces 13. 10; sprecca 10. 20; gef 5. 39; gefanne I 1. 12; gfreten 6. 19; ettes 9. 11; etendra 14. 21; f'esetna I 19. 12; gebeden I 20. 12; serð 5. 21 (S. § 388, 3, anm. 1); gewegen 7. 2; gesege I 6. 12 (pp.); gesegen I 9. 11.

For streigðæs 12. 30 v. § 14.

II. In words other than strong verbs: suefnum 2. 12;

soefnum 27. 19 (§ 20); uel 5. 44; gewelgad 25. 9; stefn I 16. 7; feðrum 23. 37; feðrihte I 7. 17; regn 7. 25; hregnað 5. 45; godspell, bi-, soð-, 4. 23; 21. 45; I 7. 2; godspellere I 3. 6; (derne)legere 19. 9; feltun 15. 17; gemet I 17. 11; ungemetlicra I. 5. 5; efne I 4. 9; wesdæl 24. 27 (§ 38); besmum 12. 44; ðegnes 10. 42 (beside ðeignas 5. 1 (§ 14)); gebed 21. 13; weg 11. 10; we 10. 10 (§ 20); gefe 23. 19; puulsper 11. 7; forgefnise I 18. 7; ondget 15. 16; mec 3. 11; meh 8. 21; ðec 5. 23; ðeh 4. 6 (§ 42); telge 24. 32; sedlum I 20. 20; seðel 19. 28; hehsedle 27. 19; sunset 24. 27; recone 21. 2; hreconlice 28. 8; fiondgeldum 4. 24 (beside gyld I 20. 10 (§ 20)); hueðer 7. 16 (S. § 342, anm. 1); wecg (stater) I 20. 9; ðes 3. 3; (ge)rēc 27. 24 (§ 23); ungerecc 26. 5; metdmaasta 23. 45 mg.; bismar 15. 6 (cf. Lind.² § 16, 2; NED. 'bismar'); bismaredon 27. 29; edniwung 19. 28; geedniwad 12. 13; tinterge 5. 22; uer I 9. 2; nesto 8. 20; nestpoha 10. 10; getegðeges (?) 23. 23 (v. Lind.² § 16, anm. 2; cf. F. § 47, teigða).

WGmc. e may occur in: harwelle I 1. 5; hünd- 13. 8; rum- 7. 13 (B. § 175, anm.).

For the e in nese 13. 29 (2) v. Brown § 3; cf. Hall.

Gmc. e appears as o in oððe 17. 25; oð 22. 44.

Loanwords: tempel 23. 17; tempul I 21. 3; centur 8. 5; centuries I 17. 20; senapes I 19. 10; senepes 13. 31; sestre 5. 15 (v. F. § 2); efne (hymnus) 26. 30 (§ 17, III); trymes 17. 27 (y = Lat. e; § 17, III); seista 20. 5 (§ 14).

æ appears instead of e in: unbærend 23. 4; spræcca 10. 19; spræcend 12. 46; wæra 27. 52; wæs (imp.) 2. 13 (these last due to w influence; v. § 20; B. § 92, anm.).

WGmc. e is affected by:

1. Following nasal, § 15.
2. Preceding palatal, § 21.
3. Following r-, h-, l-combinations, § 16.
4. u-Umlaut, § 18.
5. Contraction with a guttural vowel, § 22.
6. Influence of preceding w, § 20.

§ 3. i.

I. WGmc. i (= Idg. i) is found in the 1 and 3 sing. pl. pret. and pp. of st. vbs. Cl. I: f'drifon 21. 39; f'drifen I 18. 11, &c.; bisuicen 2. 16; avritti I 3. 4; awuritun I 9. 9; auritten 11. 10, &c.; wrigon 25. 36; wrigen 6. 31; arison 27. 52 (beside arioson 25. 7 (§ 18)); arisen 13. 5; slitenum I 8. 9; toslitten 9. 16; eftedwidon 21. 42 (beside ædwuioton 27. 44; v. Lind.² § 22, anm.); also the pret.-pres. verb: wistas 25. 26; witte I 3. 12; wittende 26. 10; gewitten 10. 26.

Other examples are: ofgestignisse I 6. 1; bisig I 17. 11; bisignisse I 17. 10; onwrih(nise) I 7. 4; firnade 27. 4; bifiende 12. 20; I 6. 1; smið 13. 55; slitnese 24. 15; scipp 8. 24; scipe 8. 23; wiðweard 14. 24; writ I 2. 15; (forms with io, v. § 18); gewritt I 21. 2; oferwurit I 6. 17; fisc 7. 10; fisceras 4. 18; fiscðrut 15. 34; gif I 1. 12; gife 6. 22; ðicce 13. 15; tiegenum 25. 32; (grist)bittung 13. 42 (beside gristbiottung 8. 12 (§ 18); v. Lind.² § 22, anm.; NED. 'grist'); afirres 7. 23 (v. S. § 159, anm.; B §§ 187, anm.; 516); gestricedon 4. 21 (v. KL, WB. 'Strick'); sifða 13. 38 (v. NED. 'sieve', 'sift': also KL-L., Eng. Ety.); biluit 11. 29 (v. Cos. § 31, 1; KL, NStB. § 70; KL, WB. 'bilig' and 'Weichbild'); ðirda (?) 17. 23 (cf. Lind.² § 22); lifeð 9. 18; hlifigende 27. 63; megwlit 28. 3; wlit 22. 16; wlittig 23. 27; ondwlita I 7. 9 (2); hwidir I 7. 17; ðider 2. 22; tuigge 24. 32; lingendes 26. 7; witnesa 8. 4; wið I 4. 1; hit 26. 25; his I 3. 9; (h)is (ejus), 1. 21; him I 4. 2; hine I 9. 19; hir 9. 21; hrif 1. 18; frið I 18. 14; friðgeorn 5. 9; bitterlice 26. 75; ofwistlic 6. 11; niðer 18. 26; niðria 18. 10; geniðras 12. 42; pricle 5. 18 (2); ðisses 13. 15; ðisum 17. 20; til (?) 26. 31 (v. KL-L., Eng. Ety. 'till'; Emerson, Hist. of Eng. Lang. § 163); inwite 26. 4; esuica 7. 5.

i occurs in bið I 2. 16; bist 5. 23 (Streitberg § 210).

For flitta, geflit v. § 45, 5.

To WS. frec corresponds fric 11. 19; frico 25. 27 (v. NED. 'freck', 'frike'; Uhlenbeck, 'faihufriks).

II. *i* = Gmc. *i* from Idg. *e*.

(a) Before nasal + cons.: in the present of the st. vbs. Cl. III.: *singe* 26. 34; *singendum* I 8. 10; *besuingene* 27. 26; *gesuingas* 10. 17; *gesuingdon* 21. 8; *suinganne* 20. 19; *bindes* 18. 18; *unbindas* 21. 2, &c.; *drinces* 20. 23; *drincende* 1. 18; *windende* 27. 28; *onginneð* I 1. 1, &c.; *onfindes* I 4. 11, &c.; *winnes* 11. 28 (beside *wynnas* 6. 28 (§ 20)); in the subst. vb.: *sint* I 3. 11, &c.; *sinon* 10. 20; *sindun* I 5. 2; *sind* 11. 8; in the wk. vb. *getimbro* 16. 18, &c.

Other examples are: *getimbro* (sb.) 24. 1; *hringas* I 6. 3; *finger* 23. 4; *intinge* I 1. 10 (§ 40); *inðing* 15. 9; *ðing* I 15. 4; *ðingstow* 20. 3; *blind* 12. 22; *wind* 8. 26; *tinterge* 5. 22; *winstra* I 17. 6; *winn* I 1. 4; *dringe* 10. 42; *ðringe* 25. 37 (§§ 39, 42); *drincere* 11. 19.

For *blinnes* 24. 12 v. § 25.

Common Gmc. *i* occurs in: in I 1. 5; *inne* I 6. 1 (?) (cf. Kl.-L., Eng. Ety., *inn*); *binna* 23. 25; *innoð* 12. 40.

i occurs instead of *e* in *fillenu* 3. 4.

For the *i* in *fhles* 9. 16 v. *Lea* p. 84, note.

(b) Before an original following *i* or *j*: in the present form of the strong verbs *biddan*, *licgan*, *sittan*: *biddes* 21. 22; *bidanne* 14. 23; *liges* 8. 6; *lig* 19. 18; *liccende* 8. 14; *sitto* I 1. 2; *sittendo* 27. 61.

Other examples are: *forewide* 4. 5; *is* (Idg. **esti*) I 1. 12; *ise* 5. 37 (2); *child* I 20. 10; *micel* 7. 27 (yet cf. Kl.-L., Eng. Ety. 'much'); *miela* 21. 36; *middum* I 7. 8; *midla* I 14. 15; *middel* I 2. 6; *middan* 13. 38; *middangeardes* 4. 8; *milsia* I 20. 14; *milsande* 9. 36; *mitte* 5. 15; *sibe* 10. 34; *sibsume* 5. 9; *sige* 12. 20; *gesigfæstnade* I 14. 12; *gesihða* 17. 9; *scillinga* 18. 28; *wil* 5. 40 (beside forms with *a*, *e*, *æ*, *ø*; v. S. § 428; F. p. 10); *willninngum* I 17. 7; *gespilles* 6. 20; *gespilled* 6. 19; *feortig* I 16. 8; *hundneantig* 18. 13, &c.; *sextih* 13. 23 (and other numerals; v. Kl.-L., Eng. Ety. 'ten'); *loswist* 16. 26; *earoliprica* 26. 51; *wilde* 13. 27; *milde* 5. 4; *mildheortnise* 9. 13; *smirinis* 26. 12 (S. § 159, *anm.* 1; B. §§ 187, *anm.*; 516).

Interchange of e and i occurs in *cuiðestu* 7. 9 (3); v. S. § 317, anm. 7.

The i in: *hripes* 7. 2; *hrīpes* 9. 37; *hrippo* 25. 26; *rioppas* (§ 18) 6. 26 is unstable (S. § 382, anm. 3). Short i is to be inferred, certainly, in the umlauted form, and possibly in those with geminated p; v. § 45.

For the i in *scip*: *bearscip* I 18. 8; *broðerscip* 24. 12 v. S. § 98, anm.; in *siðða* I 9. 12 v. B. §§ 246, 336; cf. Kal. § 65, a.

Loanwords: *biscop* I 3. 2, &c.; *forebiscob* l. 18 mg.; *discipul* 27. 57; *discipulas* 26. 8; *disciplum* 26. 40; *cilic* 11. 21; *cirica* I 5. 15, &c.; *ciricendum* I 8. 10; *ciricalicra* I 9. 4; *disc* I 19. 14, &c.; *pinn* I 2. 18.

WGmc. e before m occurs as i in: *nimeð* 10. 38; *nimmende* I 10. 3, &c. (beside *niomað* 19. 11, &c. (§ 18)).

Unexplained: *swilce* I 18. 13; *hi(mong)* I 18. 13 (Is this hi an aspirated form of ge, or is the h inorganic, and the i the remains of an original in?).

i>ī through the disappearance of a voiceless spirant occurs in: *stið* 25. 24; *stiðnise* 19. 8; *fif* I 19. 15; *swiðe* 11. 20; and the loanwords: *pīsa* 23. 4; *pislice* 13. 15 (Pog. §§ 131, 299).

For the i in *cicceno* 23. 37 v. § 21.

i is affected by:

1. Breaking before r- and l-combinations, and before h, § 16.
2. u- and o/a-Umlaut, § 18.
3. Change from wio to wu, § 20.
4. Contraction, § 22.

§ 4. o.

o (= WGmc. o) remains unchanged in:

I. The pp. of st. vbs. Cl. II, III, IV: *beboden* l. 18; *fʰbod* 10. 14 mg.; *geboren* I 6. 10; *boren* 19. 12; *gecorfen* 7. 19; *ofcorfen* 3. 10; *wordnum* I 18. 18; *aworden* 14. 15,

U O P N

10 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

&c.; gebrocen 21. 44; aworpen 14. 24; geworpen 5. 13; gecorenes I 2. 9, &c.; tostrogden I 1. 2; agotten 9. 17.

II. The other examples are: *ðorfendo* 5. 3 (v. Lind.² § 48, anm. 3; F. p. 11, note; Lea § 9, (1)); *bohte* 13. 46; *bohton* 21. 12; *unboht* 10. 8; *toborsten* 27. 51; *gecorenscipe* I 14. 4; *morgen* 6. 34; *wolcen* 17. 5; *ofer* 4. 5; *morður* 19. 18; *corn* I 19. 10; *cörn* 13. 31 (§ 23); *word* 19. 1; *wörd* 26. 75 (§ 23); *foxas* 8. 20; *dohter* 9. 18; *ðornas* 13. 7; *hagaðornum* 7. 16; *snotre* 7. 24; *wintrog* 21. 33; *smolt* 16. 2; *oft* I 6. 18; *hoga* 24. 45; *hogofæste* 25. 2; *hogfullum* 11. 25; *hogahscipe* I 8. 13 (§ 44); *gold* 2. 11; *göld* 23. 17 (§ 23); *god* I 7. 5; *godspell* I 8. 17; *godspellere* I 3. 6; *godcund* I 6. 19; *godcundmæht* 25. 31; *fola* I 21. 3; *cofa* 21. 13; *mot* 7. 3 (by Cook glossed *ō*; v. § 9); *bodage* 4. 17; *boddages* 11. 5; *f'ebod* I 16. 5; *bod* 22. 36; *bebod* 15. 3; *folcum* 27. 20; *costaið* I 7. 7; *costung* 13. 21; *costere* 4. 3; *lose* 7. 13; *losað* 18. 14; *lösað* 16. 25 (§ 23); *loswistes* 16. 26; *losing* 7. 13; *for* I 2. 11; *befora* 17. 2; *fore* I 18. 13; *forma* I 4. 3; *forðor* 10. 37; *forðmest* I 14. 2 (with the vowel seldom written out); *duoladon* 18. 13; *duola* 27. 64 (beside *dwala* I 2. 8 (3); v. § 20); *gedwola* I 8. 9; *geduolade* 18. 12; *forht* 1. 20; *frohtendum* I 18. 5; *geðolas* 11. 12; *geworhte* I 2. 9; *worohte* 19. 4 (§ 48); *worohton* 20. 12; *f'egenotad* I 10. 1; *horn-sceaða* 4. 5; *lof* 21. 16; *ofn* 13. 42; *mohða* 6. 19; *cotte* 6. 6; *nestpoha* 10. 10; *stocce* 6. 2; *brörd* 13. 26 (§ 23); *f'worp-nise* 1. 17; *holas* (?) 8. 20 (v. Kl.-L., Eng. Ety. 'hold'; Kal. § 67, b; B. § 529; S. § 242, anm. 3).

Loccete (eructare) 13. 35; *loceteð* I 7. 5 are not clear. Could the stem be the same as in *roccetan* (eructare) with change of *r* to *l*?

For *ðorlease* 13. 4; *ðorofra* 26. 17 v. §§ 16, 48.

WS. *wolde* appears as *walde* 23. 37; *wælde* 14. 7, &c.

WS. *ðurh* appears once as *ðorh* 26. 24 (S. § 56, anm. 1).

WGmc. *o* appears as *o* before nasal in *wonnendæ* I 2. 5 (*wuniga*, § 15, VI).

WOL

Shortening of *ō* occurs in: *brohte* 17. 16; *šohte* 1. 20; *sohton* 13. 28 (S. § 125).

Unexplained: *forf* 19. 21; *toge* 5. 9 mg.; *ohthripp* 9. 38.

Loanwords: *torr* 21. 33; *port* 7. 14; *portcwenum* I 21. 7; *apostol* I 6. 17; *ap'lorum* 10. 2; *apostolum* 10. 8 mg.; *ole* 25. 8 (beside *oele* 25. 34 (§ 17)); *olebearuas* 26. 30.

WGmc. *o* appears as *u* (S. § 55) in: *fuglas* 6. 26; *uulfes* 7. 15; *fulle* I 8. 6, and compounds; *fulwa* 3. 11; *fulwiht* 21. 25; *fuluihtere* 3. 1 (v. NED.); *lufað* 6. 24; *ufa* 4. 6; *ondspurnað* 18. 9, &c. (beside *ondspyrnas* 5. 29, &c. (§ 17; S. § 389, anm. 4)).

WGmc. *o* is affected by:

1. Following nasal, § 15.
2. i-Umlaut, § 17.

§ 5. u.

WGmc. *u* occurs:

I. In the pret. pl. of st. vbs. Cl. II, and in the pret. pl. and pp. of st. vbs. Cl. III: *geflugun* 8. 33; *gecuron* 13. 48; *gefrugnon* 22. 23; *gefrugnun* 17. 10; *druncun* 24. 38; *ðruncnum* 24. 49 (§ 39); *ymbhurfon* 23. 15 (§ 29; S. § 388, anm. 4); *geðurscon* 21. 8, 35; *gewurpon* 21. 39 (beside *geworpon* 26. 60); *gegrundon* 24. 41; *gebundenn* 27. 16; *gebundene* 27. 2; *gefundun* 2. 11; *gefundena* I 4. 10, &c.; *underdulfon* 13. 7; *gewurdon* 27. 54; *geurnon* 8. 28; *sungun* 11. 17; *f'gu^ulde* (opt. pret.) 18. 25; *f'egulde* I 20. 15; *ongunnun* 12. 1; also in the pres. forms of *cunna*: *cunn* ... 10. 14 mg. (S. § 422, 5, anm.); also, in the pres. of the pret.-pres. vbs.: *gewunna* (§ 29) 26. 53; *ðurfu* 26. 65.

u appears in pret. 1 sg. ind. in *strugde* 25. 26 (S. § 389, anm. 1).

iu appears in pret. pl. and pp. of *gescriungon* 13. 6; *f'scriuncen* 12. 10 (v. § 21; S. § 386, anm. 4).

II. The other examples are: *burna* I 2. 10; *burg* I 6. 17; *burug* (§ 48) I 6. 10; *dura* 25. 10; *lustes* 5. 32; *lustgeornisse* I 17. 3; *sundor* I 19. 9 (beside *suindir* I 3. 7); *sundurlice*

12 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

I 9. 9; sundrade I 1. 3 (beside suindria 19. 6); sundria I 9. 7; sundrigo I 10. 3 (beside suyndriga I 9. 1; suindrige I 9. 9; S. § 6, anm. 1; swindrigum I 4. 1; syndrig 25. 15; v. § 17); utacundum 17. 25; godcunde I 6. 19; under I 4. 5; underra I 9. 9; wundor I 15. 4; wundrade 27. 14; wuldor 16. 27; wuldriað 5. 16; dumb 12. 22; sum I 5. 8; grund 18. 6; hundum (canis) I 17. 13; hungro 24. 7; hunggrig 25. 37 (beside hincgrig 25. 35 (§ 17)); sune I 21. 13, &c. (beside s^uona (as.) 2. 15); sunna (sol) 5. 45; sunnadæg I 18. 20; tunga I 1. 5; tungul 2. 2; cunnade 1. 25, &c.; cunnere 4. 3; cursunges 23. 15; ðus I 7. 1; wyrtrumma 3. 10; unwyrtrumias 13. 29; hundrað 18. 12, &c.; hundfre . . . 22. 19 mg.; hūnduelle 13. 8 (§ 23); fulla (amphora) 26. 7; (h)rust 6. 20; bunda 13. 30.

For afvlic I 2. 11 v. § 1.

Unexplained: cursumbor 2. 11; adustriga 26. 74 (cf. Brown § 38, c).

Loanwords: puulsper 11. 7 (cf. CD.; Kl.-L., Eng. Ety. 'pool'); luh 8. 18; tunuc 27. 28 (PG. p. 929, § 2, 2); culfre 3. 16 (cf. Kl., PG. p. 337; Holthausen, IF. X, 112). cuople 8. 23 should be mentioned here. Cf. the following from NED., under 'Coble.' 'ONorthumbrian *cuopl* appears to have no Teut. cognates; cf. Welsh *ceubal*, *ceubol* ferry-boat, skiff, lighter (prob.:—OWelsh **caupol*), Bret. *caubal*, which Silvan Evans identifies with Lat. *caupulus*, *-ilus*. . . The word may be native in Celtic, and may contain the root *ceu-*, *caru-* hollow. The ONorth. form, if correct, is not the direct parent of the present form.'

u is lengthened by the disappearance of a voiceless spirant in: ūs I 5. 3; us I 2. 5; usic I 5. 2; ūsig 15. 23; userne 6. 11, &c.; urer 6. 9; cuðe 7. 23; cuðlice I 7. 6; cuðnoma I 6. 4; muð 12. 34; husul 12. 7; suðdæles 12. 42; suðerne I 19. 6; uðuuto 21. 25; wuðuuto 23. 1.

WGmc. u is affected by:

1. i-Umlaut, § 17.
2. Preceding palatals, § 21.



CHAPTER II. LONG VOWELS

§ 6. *ā*.

WGmc. *ā* (= Gmc. *ǣ*, WS. *ǣ*) is as a rule represented by *ē*; in a few instances by *æ* (S. §§ 55, 150, 1; Lind. § 17). This *ē* occurs:

I. In the 2 sg. and pl. pret. ind., and in the pret. opt. of st. vbs. Cl. IV, V: *bēre* 27. 32; *beron* 20. 12; *fʹstelun* 28. 13; *gebēdon* 8. 31; *gebēdon* 7. 4; *gebēde* 19. 13, &c.; *geseton* I 18. 15; *gesetton* 27. 36; *legon* 9. 36; *sprecon* 20. 11; *frēton* 13. 4; *eton* 15. 38; *ēton* 13. 4 (beside *ēt* 11. 18; v. S. § 391, anm. 3; Kl., PG. p. 436, § 171); *cwēdon* I 10. 2; *cueðon* 15. 1 (forms with *oe* v. § 20); *ongēte* 13. 51; *ongēton* 14. 35; *segon* 25. 37, &c.; *gesēge* 12. 22, &c.; in the pres. forms, and pp. of some reduplicating vbs.: *ondrēde* 10. 31; *ondredes* 21. 26; *fʹlēt* 5. 40; *fʹlettes* 19. 5 (beside *forleites* I 17. 3, &c.; v. § 14); also in: *redes* I 3. 11; *slepes* 9. 24; *slēpende* 26. 43; *were* 25. 21; *veron* I 3. 2; *wēre* I 20. 30 (forms with *æ* v. below; and with *oe*, v. § 20); *neron* 12. 4; *nere* 7. 6 mg.; *nēre* 24. 22; *getēled* 22. 6; *tela* 8. 10; *gebrecon* (*brūca*) 13. 4 (2) (v. S. § 385, anm. 5; Lea § 44, 1); *dedon* 26. 4 (3) (beside *dydon* I 18. 8, &c.; v. § 17).

II. The other examples are: *redes* I 8. 16; *ētere* 11. 9; *slepe* 1. 20; *efern* 14. 15; *eferntid* 8. 16; *nēdro* 10. 16; *nedra* 23. 33; *nedles* 19. 24; *sprēc* 11. 16; *sprec* I 2. 5; *bēre* 9. 2; *bēro* 9. 6; *ger* 9. 20; *hēr* 23. 5; *her* 5. 36; *huer* 2. 2, &c.; *hwer* 2. 9; *uer* (§ 44) I 21. 3 (beside *hwōer* I 18. 3; v. § 20); *ðer* I 22. 8, &c.; *fetelsum* 13. 48 (F. p. 13); *seel* 26. 16 (2); *sed* 13. 37; *sēd* 13. 24; *sedere* 13. 18; *sedege*, *sēde* 13. 3; *meg* 20. 13; *telendum* I 21. 9; *telnisses* I 3. 12; *fʹlet-nise* I 20. 14; *geleta* (*exitus*) 22. 9 (Lind. p. 33); *esuica* 7. 5; *esuice* 5. 8 mg.; *esprynge* I 2. 9; *eristes* I 21. 11; *ferunga* 10. 14 mg.; *erendraca* I 18. 17 (v. Kl., Beit. VI, pp. 385,

14 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

386; Bugge, *ibid.* XXIV, 431 ff.; S. § 100, anm. 4); *swer* (piger) 25. 26; *merne* 27. 16; *seles* I 7. 1 (beside *soel* 19. 27; *sella* 12. 12; *sellra* 10. 31; v. B. §§ 339, 342); *ferende* (?) 7. 15.

For the *e* in *lece* 9. 12; *lecneð* I 19. 2 (beside *leicnade* 12. 15 (§ 14), cf. B. § 192; Lind. p. 33; Lea § 45).

Shifting from *ē* to *æ* occurs in: *sædi* 20. 8; *mæg* 11. 19; *wæron* 18. 31; *wære* 13. 35.

ē does not occur in WGmc. *suā*, which shifts from *swæ* I 9. 18 (104) to *sua* 5. 31 (57) and *suosæ* 13. 32 (v. F. p. 13; Bülbring, *Angl. Beib.* X, 368 ff.; also EB. § 103).

For the *ā* in *sawes* 25. 24; *sawende* 13. 19; *gecrawe* 26. 74 v. KL, PG. p. 407, § 114; p. 432, § 165; cf. S. §§ 57, 2 a; 62, anm.; Kal. §§ 59, anm.; 60, a.

WGmc. *ā* appears as *ā* in *mag* 10. 35 (S. § 57, anm. 3).

The *ā* of *gān* is of uncertain origin; cf. S. §§ 57, anm. 1; 430, anm. 1; KL, PG. § 166; F. p. 13.

ne hwarne 8. 30 glosses *non*. *Hwar* probably stands here for *hwær*, the negative being again appended; cf. *Boethius* (ed. Sedgefield) *nāwer nēah* 42. 1; 43. 5; *Ælfred's Soliloquies* 182. 13 (cf. 19) *nyste ic nāwar eorðan hū ic ongynnan wolde* (and so Mod. Eng. nowhere near; cf. nowise; OE. *nealles*, &c.). The *a* may here have been shortened, as in *nāwar* (*nawer*) above. For *hwār* < *hwær* v. S. § 321, anm. 2.

Loanwords: *streta* I 7. 13; *strēte* 13. 19 (beside *stræt* 13. 4).

WGmc. *ā* is affected by:

1. Following nasals, § 15.
2. Preceding and following palatals, §§ 19, 21.

§ 7. ē.

The origin of this Gmc. *ē* (=Got. *ē*) is not clear; cf. Streitberg § 79; KL, PG. § 126.

ē appears in: *her* I 4. 2; *hēr* 17. 4, &c.

For the e in: hehtes I 1. 11; heht 21. 6; onfengon 10. 8; ahengon 23. 24 v. S. §§ 58; 394, anm. 2; 395, anm. 3; Streitberg § 79, 3; Kl., PG. p. 411, §§ 126, 127; Kal. § 63.

For ē, the result of contraction, v. § 22.

Loanwords: feberadlum 8. 15; crecisc I 2. 8; grecisc I 2. 5 (beside creicnas I 2. 7 (§ 14)).

§ 8. ī

ī (= Gmc. ī) occurs:

I. In the pres. forms of st. vbs. Cl. I: f'drife 10. 1; drifo 12. 28; slitenne 5. 11; toslīta 26. 61; awrita I 6. 19; bīdas 11. 3; abīd 27. 49; abidað 26. 38; swicað 24. 11; suicas 24. 5; scines 13. 43; stige 20. 18; ofdunegestigdes 11. 23 (S. § 381, anm. 4); arīso 27. 63; arīsās 11. 5; w'ðarrīsas 10. 21; hrinas 23. 29; gehrinadon 14. 36 (S. § 381, anm. 4); flitendum I 2. 1 (for forms with tt v. § 45).

For forms with io v. § 18.

II. The other examples are: rīces 9. 35; īdil 12. 36; idlo 25. 2; inwritting I 4. 8 (perhaps shortening of ī here; v. § 45); lehtisern 5. 15; gidsunges 6. 24 mg.; wīsa (modus) I 9. 15; tīd I 6. 18; tīd 14. 15; stiga I 7. 13; sīdo 3. 4; līfe, lif 12. 32; wīnes I 18. 9; winwirccendum I 21. 8; wīntrog 21. 33; winbegera 21. 33 mg.; wīntrees 26. 29; huil 26. 45; huīle 26. 55; huit 5. 36; uthuitum I 21. 17; wīfes 8. 14; uifgiornis 15. 19; wīfega 19. 10; wīfmonn 19. 4; mīn 12. 50; minum 11. 27; ðin 7. 3; bliðe 6. 22; unbliðe 6. 23; unbliðemoede 26. 37; rim I 4. 7; forerim I 1. 1; wīde 7. 13; rīces 2. 6; rixade 2. 22; wīdlas 12. 5; wītges I 7. 7; gewītgade 15. 7; wītgiung I 5. 10; swīgade 26. 63; suigo (mora) 25. 5; suigiunc 24. 48; līc (corpus) 24. 28; lichomas I 17. 9; līcðrouer 8. 2; gelīc 7. 26; līcnesse 6. 27; līcas 6. 34; gelīcade 14. 6; licewyrðe 11. 26; wīso 11. 9 (§ 33); unwī 5. 22; wīsfæst 5. 48; unrehtwīsnis 24. 12; ðrīm I 22. 2; ðriim 27. 40 (S. § 324, anm. 2); ðritih 13. 23 (beside ðrittiges I 19. 9; § 45; S. §§ 214, anm. 1; 230, anm. 1; B. § 349); snīueð 5. 45; hīgna 13. 27.

16 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

For the *i* in *hrippe* 13. 39, &c. v. §§ 3, 45; in *giuias* 7. 9; *giudon* 27. 20, &c. v. *Lea* § 51, note; *S.* § 416, *anm.* 14 b; in *wigbed* 23. 19 v. § 19.

i is the result of lengthening, after the loss of a nasal before a voiceless spirant in: *fif* I 19. 5; (*hunteantig*)*siða* I 20. 17, &c.; *suiðre* 5. 29; *stið* 25. 24; *stiðnise* 19. 8; *siða* 26. 44; *grist*(*bittung*) 13. 42, &c.

Loanwords: *ficbeam* I 21. 4; *crist* I 14. 10; *pīsa* 23. 4; *pīslīce* 13. 15 (*Pog.* § 131); *mile* 5. 41 (*Pog.* § 143); *pinerum* 18. 34; *pinenne* 8. 29 (*Pog.* § 270); *trinise* I 16. 7.

§ 9. *ō*.

ō (= Gmc. *ō*) occurs:

I. In the pret. ind. and opt. of st. vbs. Cl. VI: *ofstode* I 5. 8; *gestodon* 12. 46; *stōd* 27. 11; *onsōc* 26. 72; *f'esoc* 3. 15; *ofslog* 2. 16; *ofslogun* I 21. 8; *gedrog* 9. 20; *ðuoh* 27. 24; *offor* I 18. 10; *gewōx* 13. 26; *woxon* 13. 7 (*S.* § 392, *anm.* 5); *underhof* 8. 17; *ahofon* 17. 8; *gehlogun* 9. 24.

II. The other examples are: *hrof* 24. 17; *hrōfa* 10. 27; *to* 21. 30 (beside *tom* I 18. 19 (§ 33)); *to* (too) 5. 33; *rōde* 27. 31; *roda* 16. 24; *wodnesdæg* I 22. 17; *unrōt* 26. 38 (and other compounds); *moder* I 20. 20; *stowa* 27. 33; *ðingstow* 20. 3; *mōr* 26. 30; *more* 17. 20; *eðmod* 11. 29; *eðmodiges* 18. 4; *locadon* 21. 38; *flouing* 9. 20; *flownise* I 6. 14; *behofes* 5. 30; *behoflic* 5. 29; *fostrað* 3. 4; *fot* 18. 8; *fotscoemel* 5. 35; *gōd* 19. 16; *godo* 13. 23; *ðrowiga* 26. 33; *ðrowungum* 10. 31; *licðrower* I 17. 19; *dōm* 12. 18; *dome* 5. 22; *dogor* 15. 32; *broðer* 5. 23; *wōp* 13. 42; *wop* 8. 12; *blōd* 16. 17; *blodes* I 18. 10; *boc* I 2. 17; *bōc* I 7. 7; *gemotern* 27. 27; *gemot* 10. 17; *dōm* (*facio*) 20. 13; *doende* 24. 46, &c.; *noh* 25. 9; *genoh* 10. 25; *foter* 13. 27; *foðer* 14. 20; *mōt* 22. 19; *mot* (*licet*) 27. 6; *moston* 14. 36; *stol* 23. 2; *flōd* 24. 38; *flod* 24. 39; *domad* 10. 34 (all other forms unlauded, § 17); *hoc* 17. 27; *bogehte* (?) 7. 14 (cf. OE. *bōg*); *eftcoles* 24. 12.

For the o in *brohte* 17. 16; *šohte* 1. 20; *sohte* 8. 19; *sohton* 13. 28 v. §§ 3, 15, III; also S. § 125.

For the o in *woes* 22. 18; *wohfull* 18. 32 v. § 15, III.

Loanwords: (*bryd*)*lopa* 22. 2 (v. Kl., PG. p. 932); *non* 20. 5; *nones* 27. 45.

Final *wō* appears as *ū* in: *hu* 7. 4; *hu^a* 11. 23; *tuu* 24. 41; *tuufald* 23. 15; *tuufallice* I 16. 7 (S. §§ 69, *anm.*; 172, *anm.*).

ō is affected by i-Umlaut, § 17.

§ 10. *ū*.

ū (= Gmc. *ū*) occurs:

I. In the pres. forms of certain st. vbs. Cl. II (S. § 385): *gehlutes* 8. 20; *brucas* 15. 27; *gebrucca* 6. 25; *suppas* 16. 28 (though v. § 45 for the possible significance of *pp*).

II. The other examples are: (*lond*)*buend* 21. 35; *šusend* I 19. 15; *untuned* I 4. 4; *untuende* 27. 52 (all other forms with i-umlaut, § 17); *hus* 10. 6; *hūs* 12. 44; *gehuse* 10. 25; (*un*)*rum* I 17. 14; *rumlice* I 18. 14; *rūmwelle* 7. 13; *tun* 26. 36; *feltun* 15. 17; *beretun* 3. 12; *cæfertun* 26. 69; *lehtunum* 23. 23 *mg.*; *buta* I 2. 8; *ahbutean* I 8. 17; *ūt* 13. 48; *ūt* 10. 14; *ūta* 26. 69; *ūte* 12. 47; *gedrugde* 21. 20; *gedrugad* 21. 19; *drug* (*aridus*) I 21. 4 (beside *drygi* 23. 15; v. § 17); *lutorlice* I 8. 8; *duni* 26. 30; *hidune* 4. 6; *ofduneastag* 7. 25; *fiscōrutas* 15. 34.

ū is affected by i-Umlaut, § 17.

CHAPTER III. DIPHTHONGS

§ 11. *ai*.

ā (= WGmc. *ai*) occurs regularly:

I. In the 1 and 3 sg. pret. ind. of st. vbs. Cl. I: *f'draf* 8. 16; *gewat* 27. 5; *awrat* I 14. 9; *avrat* I 3. 7; *astag* 3. 16; *astāg* 14. 23; *arās* 2. 14; *eftaras* I 14. 12; *gehran* I 18. 2; *gehrān* 9. 29; *toslāt* I 19. 3.

II. The other examples are: *tacon* I 4. 7; *getacnas* I 9. 13; *f'etaceno* 24. 24; *tān* 27. 35 (2); *tanages* 23. 23; *gāst* 26. 41; *gaast* I 5. 8; *gaas* I 7. 17 (§ 38); *snā* 17. 2; *stān* 24. 2; *byrðen* 18. 6; *coern* 18. 6; *huom* 21. 42; *facne* 5. 8 mg.; *metlafo* 14. 20; *hamas* 19. 22; *hamcuða* I 9. 1; *hāl* 24. 13; *hal* 10. 22; *unhale* 8. 16; *hlaf* 4. 4; *hlāfum* 14. 17; *hlaferd* 9. 38; *halig* 1. 18; *gehaliga* 18. 11 (beside *gehælgas* 23. 19 (§ 17)); *āð* 14. 7; *aað* 26. 72; *að* 14. 9; *clað* 9. 16; *fagegas* I 1. 2; *hād* I 2. 5; *gehadade* 7. 6 mg.; *lað* 10. 22; *laað* 24. 9; *lā* 9. 2; *wag(hrahel)* 27. 51; *agenlic* 25. 15; *agnegað* 5. 5; *aht* 18. 28; *agan* 5. 3 mg.; *ahte* 13. 46; *sawle* 12. 18; *saulum* 11. 29; *wat* 6. 8; *nat* 24. 50; *frasung* I 21. 10; *gefrasende* I 21. 5; *ādle* 24. 7; *adla* 24. 8; *feberadlum* 8. 15; *aanum* I 4. 1; *ān* 8. 19; *an* 1. 12 (beside *enne* 5. 18 (§ 17)); *nann* I 2. 8; *ar* 20. 1; *aar* 16. 3; *are* (honor) 13. 57; *ārig* 19. 19; *gearðad* 6. 2; *arwyrðe* I 1. 3; *banum* 23. 27; *hates* I 1. 11; *hāat* 14. 28; *haten* 26. 3; *gihata* 5. 33; *lāf* 22. 24; *(h)lafe* I 21. 11; *lār* 7. 28; *lar*, *f'e*, 22. 33; I 16. 5; *larwum* I 5. 5; *ascag* 10. 14 mg.; *geascade* 2.4; *lāt* (ducatus) 15. 4; *latua* (§ 23, VIII) 2. 6; *lamwrihtes* 27. 7; *getahte* 22. 34; *betaht* 1. 18 (S. § 407, anm. 11); *gelahte* 7. 33 (S. § 407, anm. 10); *gerahte* 12. 49; *rahton* 26. 50; *maa* 21. 36; *mara* 13. 32; *maast* I 6. 9; *aa* 26. 11; *brād* I 17. 4; *dal* 24. 51; *dālum* I 14. 4 (forms with *æ* v. § 17); *hārne* I 1. 5; *hārwelle* I 1. 5; *behaues* 6. 28; *maðmas* 12. 29; *wācc* 12. 20; *ðas* I 5. 11; *ða* I 4. 9; *ðara* I 1. 11; *tua* (Cos. §§ 77, 87; cf. Fischer p. 5); *sade* 27. 5; *rarende* I 7. 12; *spatende* 27. 30.

For *a* in *sawa*, *crawa*, *oncnawa* v. § 6; in *fās* v. § 1.

ō appears instead of *ā* in: *nowiht* 10. 26; *noht* 23. 16 (S. § 62, anm.).

Lea § 39. 2, Lind.² § 31, and Brown § 57, b classify *halsiga* with *ā*. See Cook's Gloss., Hall, Sweet (AgS. Dict.), Björkman, Scand. Loan-Words in ME. p. 49, note 3, who give *ǣ*. The form in Mt. is *halsa* (adjurare) 26. 63.

Unexplained: ātih 13. 27; āta 13. 38; ata 13. 30; cf. Kl.-L., Eng. Ety. 'oats.'

Loanwords: caseres 17. 24; casering 17. 24 (2) (Pog. § 199); (aldor) sacerdas 26. 3 (= Lat. *ā*; Pog. § 186; S. § 50, anm. 5); apostol I 2. 8 (= Lat. *ā*; Cos.¹ § 14); papa I 4. 12 (ibid.).

ā is affected by i-Umlaut, § 17.

§ 12. au.

ēa (= WGmc. eu) occurs regularly; there are a few cases where ēo appears instead of ēa. ēa occurs:

I. In the 1 and 3 sg. of the pret. ind. of st. vbs. Cl. II: behead 4. 6; geceas 12. 18; geseap 27. 34.

For the ēa (ēo) in speafton 26. 67; speofton 27. 30 v. S. §§ 384, anm. 5; 396, anm. 5; also Decanat sp. p. 30.

For gebrēc 12. 4 v. S. § 385, anm. 3 and 4.

eae occurs for ea in ageaett 26. 7 (§ 21).

II. The other examples are: beam 7. 4; fīcbeām 21. 21; dead 2. 19; deaðes 4. 16; deaf 11. 5; eare 10. 27; earoliprica 26. 51; easta 8. 11; eastdæl 2. 2; eastro I 22. 3; eadga I 4. 2; eadignise I 16. 12; heafod I 19. 14; heafodlinges 11. 16; leafa 15. 28; geleafa 8. 26; geleaffull 24. 45; ungeleafulnise 17. 20; read 16. 2; felleread 27. 28 (cf. F. p. 25); leasne I 1. 18; gemelease I 20. 11; sacleaso 28. 14; ðorleasa 25. 30; leaseras I 17. 15; leasunge 23. 28; screadunga 14. 20; ðreata 8. 1; ðreatende 5. 42; geðreate 17. 18; ðreatung I 18. 19; stream 8. 18; reaf 22. 12; brydreaf 22. 11; reafende I 17. 4; eaða I 19. 5; ea (?) 11. 24; eaður 9. 5; eaðelico 19. 26; leafo (folium) 21. 19; fleam 24. 20; seað 12. 11; sceawað I 1. 7; gesceauig 10. 14 mg.; ædeawe 13. 35; ædheaw 15. 15, &c.; sceaf 13. 30; smeas 16. 8; gesmeawdun 16. 7; smeawunga 9. 4 (and compounds); eawunga 12. 16; aheawa 27. 60; aheawun 23. 53 (Cos. § 92); beam (tuba) 24. 31; beameres (?) 9. 23 (v. NED. 'beam'); also heanisse 13. 5 (S. § 165, anm. 3).

ēo for ēa occurs in: (h)leofa 24. 32; bibeod 26. 19;

20 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

speofton 27. 30; ficbeom 21. 19; eoung I 22. 15; leof 3. 17; eoðe 27. 64.

For ðeh 26. 33 v. § 19; for ceawlas 14. 20, &c. v. § 20.

Loanwords: ceapemenn 21. 12; unceaped 10. 8; unceap 10. 8 mg.; v. Kl., PG. I, p. 38; Kl.-L., Eng. Ety. 'cheap'; cf. Franck, Anz. für d. Altert. XXI, 299 ff.

§ 13. eu and iu.

I. ēo (= Gmc. eu) appears as ēa, sometimes ēo (S. § 150, anm. 1; B. § 114). The examples are found:

a. In the present forms of st. vbs. Cl. II: beadas 5. 47; bebeadende 11. 1; ceasa I 4. 11.

b. In other words: ðeod 8. 12; ðeodscip 24. 14; ðeade 8. 28, &c. (3); leof 3. 17; leaf 17. 5; ðeaf 24. 43, &c. (5); deare I 21. 16; reafa (leprosus) 26. 6; bead (mensa) 15. 27; beadas 21. 12; bearscip I 18. 8; feorða 14. 25; fearða I 3. 15 (4); hread 27. 48 (3); gestreonde 21. 41; feorðing 5. 26; heafegde 11. 17; also before w in: cneorese 7. 11, &c. (beside cnewreso 24. 34; v. § 20); hreonissa 3. 8, &c. (beside hrewunisse I 18. 17 (§ 20)); getreowfæstnig I 4. 12.

To WS. dēorling corresponds derling 12. 18.

II. WGmc. iu appears as iō (B. §§ 110, 111, 113, 191; S. § 38; Decanatasp. pp. 31, 32): lioda 10. 5 (2); liorað 26. 39, &c.; strion 6. 21, &c.; strionanne I 17. 8, &c.; diorwyrðe 13. 46 (2); ðiostrig 6. 23; of'geðiostrad 24. 29; ðiofunta 15. 19; ðiofonto 19. 18; ellðiodig 25. 14; ellðiodegde 21. 33; vnderðiodid I 3. 12; geliornise 28. 16; onSION 22. 16; before w in: getriowue 9. 2 (beside getriu 9. 22 (§ 20)).

For ēa, ēo in the red. vbs., and in eade, &c. v. § 22.

Loanwords: -preoste I 7. 4 (5); -preastas I 21. 7 (2); v. Lindström, Engl. Stud. XX, 147.

For the i-umlaut of eu v. § 17.

ēo and iō are affected by Pal.-Umlaut, § 19.

§ 14. Special Northumbrian Diphthongs.

The special North. diphthongs *ei* and *ai* (v. S. § 155, 3; B. § 505, anm. 1, 2; Lind. § 23; F. § 14) occur as follows:

I. *ei*: *ceica* (§ 19) 5. 39; *ceigeð* (§ 17, VIII) I 16. 10; *ceið* I 6. 17; *ceig* 20. 8; *ceigung* I 14. 2, &c. (beside *geceyged* 1. 16; 27. 8; no forms with *ē*); *creicna* (§ 7) I 2. 17; *deiglo* (§ 17, VIII) 13. 35; *deiglice* 1. 19 (3); *gedeigla* 5. 14; *gedeigeldes* 11. 25; *forleites* (§ 6) I 17. 3; *fleitta* 1. 19; *gebreingendum* (§ 17, 3) I 16. 3; *geleicnade* (§ 6) 12. 22; *leicnade* 12. 15; *heist* (§ 22) 23. 11 (4); *heeist* I 20. 9; *neista* (§ 22) I 21. 13; *leigeðslæhtas* (§ 19, VIII) I 8. 3; *meiden* (§ 17, 2) 9. 24; *neirxnawonga* (§ 19, III) I 6. 2; *seista* (§ 2) 27. 45 (4); *sexteiges* (§ 3, II b) I 19. 9; *sexdeih* 13. 8; *streigðæs* (§ 2) 12. 30; *teiða* (§§ 2, II; 47) I 3. 18 (2); *ðeign* I 18. 4; *ðeignas* (§ 2) 5. 1 (6); *ðeigna* I 19. 17; *ðeignum* I 9. 10 (6); *onfeign* (§ 7) I 7. 15 (4); *onfeingon* I 20. 19; *bræcceic* (§ 19, IV) I 20. 7; *reihtness* (§ 19) I 4. 10.

II. *ai*: *befraignes* (§ 2) 6. 32; *gefraignade* 2. 4; *gefraignades* 12. 10; *gefraignas* 10. 11; *gefraignes* 2. 8; *gefraignende* I 21. 13; *gefraignenda* I 18. 4; *gefraigende* I 20. 3; *maiden* 9. 25; *maid* (§ 17, 2) 9. 24; *gestrionaige* (contamination form v. F. § 51, 3) 6. 19.

CHAPTER IV. INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBORING SOUNDS ON STRESSED VOWELS

§ 15. Influence of Nasals.

I. WGmc. *a* before nasals appears regularly as *o*, with the exception of a few instances noted below (S. § 65; B. § 123). The examples are:

1. Before *m*, and *m* + cons.: *noma* 10. 2; *cuðnoma* I 6. 4; from 1. 21; *lichomas* I 17. 9; *huommmum* 6. 5; *huomstanes* 21. 42; *somnigo* 25. 26; *gesömnad* 13. 2; *somnung* 26. 59; *wom* (§ 36) 12. 40; *womb* 15. 17; *lomb* I 8. 2.

22 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

2. Before *n*, and *n*+cons.: *ðone* I 6. 13, &c.; *ðonę* 10. 24; *ðon* (asm.) I 7. 6 (beside *ðene* I 4. 7 (13); v. § 17); *fhwon* I 2. 1; *ðonne* I 9. 12 (beside *ðæm* 27. 39); *ðon* 26. 29; *hwona* 13. 56; *hona* 15. 33 (2) (§ 29); *huonne* 25. 38 (beside *huoenne* 25. 37 (§ 20)); *ðon* (quam) (beside *ðæm* (!) I 6. 9 (2)); *f'ðon* 27. 3 (and other compounds); *hona* 26. 34 (S. § 65, anm. 2); *neirxnawonga* I 6. 2; (g)*wona* 19. 20; *strong* 12. 29; *geblonden* I 3. 9; *ablongegne* 26. 8 (S. § 395, anm. 2); *ðoncun* 15. 36; *ðoncade* 26. 27; *ðoncunco* 26. 27; *monn* 17. 8; *mones* 5. 27; *monnewalmo* 24. 7; *aldormonn* 9. 18; *monig* 7. 22; *monigfald* 13. 12; *monda* 16. 10; *longe* 28. 15; *f'long* 11. 21; *longsum* I 5. 7; *hond* 3. 12; *hōnd* I 17. 20 (§ 23); *hondbreodo* 26. 67; *lond* 13. 38; *lōnd* 3. 5 (§ 23); *londbuend* 21. 34; *stondende* 6. 5, &c.; *conn* 26. 72; *wlonca* 19. 24; *wlong* 27. 57; *on* (prep.) I 17. 16 (S. § 51); *on-* (prefix): *onsion* I 7. 8; *onweald* 20. 25; *ond-*: *ondeto* 7. 23; *ondswarede* 28. 5; *ahongen* 26. 2; *ahongne* 27. 14; *honges* 22. 40; *gehongiga* 18. 6; *sonde* 7. 26; *sōnd* I 17. 19 (§ 23); *ongul* 17. 27; *inmonge* 10. 16; *himong* I 18. 3; *foreonfong* I 1. 4 (2); *hronsparuas* 10. 29.

For *geonga* v. under pal. influence, § 21.

a is found in: *and* I 4. 8 (otherwise expressed regularly by the sign 7); also, in 1 and 3 sing. pret. ind. of st. vbs. Cl. III, in nasal+cons.: *gesprang* I 7. 5; *gespranc* I 6. 2; *sprānc* 9. 26 mg. (§ 23); *geband* 14. 3; *geblann* 14. 32; *gesang* 26. 74; *onfand* 24. 46; *ingann* I 17. 14; *gelamp* I 3. 9; *dranc* 11. 18; *arn* 28. 9; *gebarn* 22. 7 (S. § 386, anm. 2, 3; cf. *Bülbring*, *Angl. Beib.* IX, 97).

For the *a* in *am* 8. 9 v. F. p. 19; S. § 4, anm. 2: cf. *Sweet*, *HES.* § 442.

Loanwords: *plontade* 15. 13; *plontunc* 15. 13; (*heafud*) *ponnes* 27. 33; *fotsconol* (*n* for *m*) 22. 24. *a* remains unchanged in *camele* I 21. 16; *camella* 3. 4; *angel* I 16. 4 (otherwise with umlaut); *anticrist* I 6. 17.

II. This *o* becomes *ō* after the loss of *a* nasal before a voiceless spirant: *oðer* I 3. 5; *oððer* I 9. 11; *soð* I 1.

INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBORING SOUNDS 23

13; tođana 13. 50; tōđ 5. 38; for the o in ođđ 28. 15; ođ 26. 58; ođđe 17. 25 v. § 2.

III. To Gmc. nasalized *ā* out of *an*, corresponds *ō* in: wohfull 18. 32; woes 22. 18; brohte 17. 16; gebrohtun 4. 24; ōht (sb.) I 8. 14; ōhte 1. 20; efnegeđohton I 1. 3; ahoas 23. 34; onfoh 2. 13, &c.; v. also Contraction, § 22.

IV. WGmc. *ā* (= Gmc. *ǣ*) becomes *ō* before nasals: mona 24. 29; sōna 4. 20; cuome (2 sg.) 20. 13; cuome (opt.) 17. 14; nomo 26. 55; genōmon 14. 12; for the o of genōm 12. 45, &c.; cuom 5. 17, &c. v. S. § 390, anm. 2. Lea § 48 places hwōn I 17. 4 here, as does Lind.² § 45; F. § 15, 4 says it may belong here; cf. Fischer p. 14; Davidson, PMLA. VI, 121.

This *ō* is affected by i-Umlaut, § 21.

V. WGmc. *e* becomes *i* before old *m*: nimeđ 10. 38; nim 17. 27.

Loanwords: before nasal + cons. the *e* of loanwords becomes *i*: pinn I 2. 18 (S. § 69).

VI. WGmc. *o* before a nasal becomes *u* (S. § 70, anm.): cummenum I 5. 14; cumas 4. 19; genummen 13. 12; fruma I 7. 5; frumcende 1. 25; ōnura I 8. 3; gewuna 27. 15; gewunelic I 2. 18; wunade 21. 17; hunig 3. 4; brydguma I 13. 15; sumer 24. 32; wyrtrumme 13. 6; untrum 26. 41; untrumige I 18. 2 (other forms with *y* (§ 17, III)).

Loanword: pvnderv' I 2. 3.

§ 16. The Breakings.

I. Before *r* + cons.

a before *r* + cons. is broken as a rule to *ea*; it remains unbroken in a few cases.

1. a before *r* + cons. is broken to *ea* in: geearnade I 6. 15; scearpum 7. 16; scearpsmeung I 14. 1; middangeard 18. 7; wingeard 21. 39; olebearuas 26. 30; eard 13. 57; eardegas 13. 22; heard 25. 24; heartlice I 9. 11; innheard-

24 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

menn 8. 9; nearo 16. 5 (v. S. § 103, anm. 1; beside neruu I 17. 14); hearpa I 8. 2; ðearf 6. 8; ofcearf 14. 10; gewearð 1. 22 (2); gearua 24. 44 (beside georo (§ 29, III) 26. 41); gearwende 27. 28; mettesgearwing 27. 62; f'ueard I 21. 14; innueardlice 2. 8; erfeweard 21. 38, &c. (forms with æ, a, o, v. §§ 20, 26); earnes I 7. 9.

To WS. ðearfleas corresponds ðor(f)lease 13. 4 (B. § 533 g).

In dearfe I 7. 1; dearficum I 2. 2; dearfscipe I 7. 2, &c. Scandinavian influence seems not unlikely; cf. Icel. djarf.

The ea in stearm 16. 3 is not clear to me.

a remains unbroken in: arg 12. 39; ðarf 9. 2 (6); ðafo (§ 31, III) 26. 11 (beside ðaerfē 5. 3 mg.; unðærfe 2. 6; v. Lea § 12, 4; PG. p. 935); farras 22. 4; naruu 7. 14; arð 6. 9 (18) (v. Sweet, HES. § 442, and F. § 16, 1); hronsparuas 10. 29; darr I 1. 9; gesparrado 6. 6; darste 16. 11; warð, ge-, 26. 20; 16. 2; gewarrp I 21. 3.

Loanwords: carcern 25. 39; carchern 25. 36; carcērn 14. 10; carr 7. 28 (PG. p. 929).

Breaking does not occur before r+cons. resulting from metathesis (S. § 79, anm. 2; Kal. § 57, anm. 13): arn 28. 9.

2. The breaking of e before r+cons. appears as eo in: heorta I 5. 10 (4); miltheorte 5. 7; miltheortnisse 9. 13 (4); eorðu 2. 6 (45); reord 26. 73 (v. Lind. p. 13, anm.); ceorles I 2. 5 (3); georne I 15. 4 (4); lustgeornisse I 17. 3 (v. S., Decanatasp. p. 30); leornadon 19. 4 (12) (v. S. § 416, anm. 12; Decanatasp. p. 34); gereordum I 19. 4; feorra 26. 58 (2).

eo has become o in ðorofra 26. 17 (corresponding to WS. ðeorf; v. § 48; B. § 330).

3. The breaking of e before r+cons. appears as ea in: mearda 5. 12 (12); cearf 5. 30 (4); cearla I 2. 10; earðo 2. 21 (4); hearta 13. 15 (15); stearra 2. 9 (5) (beside sterra 2. 2); fearr 16. 22 (2). e remains unbroken in serð 5. 21.

4. Only in North. are primitive OE. io and eo differentiated throughout the whole OE. period (B. § 140; S., Decanatasp. p. 26 ff.).

The breaking of WGmc. i before r+cons. appears as io

in: geriordad 14. 20 (4); geriordum 26. 7 (2); hiorde 25. 32 (4); cuoenhiordo 19. 12; giornisse I 17. 6; wifgiornis 15. 1, 9; iornende 27. 48; foreiorne I 7. 2; iornung 9. 20; liornes 24. 15; liornadon 21. 16 (S., Decanatsp. p. 34; B. §§ 132, anm.; 140, anm.).

To WS. *ðeorf* (OHG. *derb*) corresponds *ðorofra* 26. 17 (§ 48; B. § 330).

For the *a, æ* in *farmum* I 21. 9; *færmum* 22. 3, &c. v. § 20.

For the *i* in *smirinnisse* 26. 7; *afirres* 7. 23 v. § 3.

II. Before *l* + cons.

1. *a* remains unbroken in: *alde* I 2. 4, &c.; *aldre* 21. 19; *aldor* 26. 62; *aldormonn* 9. 18; *all* 3. 10; *alne* 27. 27; *älle* 24. 39; *allre* 14. 35; *nalles* 7. 29, &c. (4); *allen* 20. 6; *allmæchtig* I 8. 7; *caldes* 10. 42; *halfe* 26. 64; *halt* 18. 8; *salt* I 16. 12; *saltwælla* I 1. 7; *dalf* 21. 33; *monnewalmo* 24. 7; *hehstald* 1. 23; *halsa* 26. 63 (§ 11); *haldanne* 21. 46; *haldas* 27. 65; *gehalden* 9. 17; *bihaldne* I 8. 15; *haldend* I 6. 3; *halmas* 3. 12; *gesalde* (5); *gesäld* 11. 27, &c. (§ 23); *asäld* 28. 18 (§ 23) (forms with *ea*, v. below); *gefalden* I 1. 7; *fallas* 4. 9; *gefallas* 12. 11; *monigfald* 13. 12; *monigfaldge* 5. 20; *monigfallice* 5. 20; *tuufald* 23. 15; *tuunfallice* I 16. 7; *gemonigfalded* I 20. 4; *galla* 27. 34; *walde* 23. 37; *walla* 6. 31; *nallas* 23. 4; *naldon* 22. 3.

ea appears only in forms of *sella*, such as *seallas* 24. 24; *sealde* 25. 15; *seallanne* I 21. 10; *gesealla* 7. 11, &c. Both Lind. § 9, I 2 and F. § 16, 2 think the *ea* may be due to *o/a*-umlaut (§ 18), and not to breaking.

Loanwords: *assales* I 21. 2; *asalda* 18. 6 (v. PG. pp. 334, 929; *Lea* § 96); *salmes* I 21. 14.

2. *e* before *l* + cons. occurs in *seolfa* 19. 12; v. B. §§ 138, 140; Lind.² § 54; Dieter p. 773.

III. Before *h*.

All breakings before *h*, as well as before consonant groups whose last member is *g, c*, or *h*, are simplified by the so-called *pal.-umlaut* (S. § 158, 1; B. §§ 133, 313; F. § 16, 3). *eahteða* I 9. 8 is an exception to this rule;

and perhaps the *eo* in neoleces 26. 46, &c. (Angl. *ē* = WS. *æ*), v. S. § 165, anm. 3; yet *Bülbring*, Angl. Beib. X, 107; EB. § 146.

The Umlauts.

§ 17. The i-Umlaut.

I. Umlaut of *a*.

1. The i-umlaut of WGmc. *a* before an original single consonant is as a rule *e*. The examples are: *settas* 5. 15; *geseted* I 5. 15; *togesetedo* I 10. 3; *setnessa* I 2. 4; *gesetnessa* I 9. 2; *betra* 12. 12; *ahefeð* 12. 35; *gehebbes* 12. 11; *hefig* 13. 15; *hefiglice* 13. 15; *hefignise* 8. 17; *ahefgade* 26. 43; *legdon* 21. 8; *alegd* 28. 4; *here* 14. 23; *hergum* I 6. 19; *herenis* I 6. 10; *geheras* I 19. 18; *netta* 4. 20; *elne* 6. 27; *mett* 6. 25; (*efen*)*meti(g)* 26. 26; *wigbed* 5. 23; *geteled* 7. 24; *federe* (ds.) 6. 18; *selenna* I 21. 10; *sełenise* 7. 9; *selo* 20. 4; *sellende* 26. 21; *geselleð* 10. 19 (forms with *ea*, § 18); *awęcces* 22. 24; *auccas* 10. 8; *helles* 19. 18; *ber(ērn)* 3. 12; *beretun* 3. 12; *twelf* 10. 1; *twelfum* 26. 20 (forms with *oe*, § 20); *recceras* I 2. 11; *reccenise* I 2. 7; *cynnreccenisse* 1. 18; *ege* 28. 8; *ellðiodig* 25. 14; *ellðiodegde* 21. 33; *suerias* 23. 18; *suerige* 5. 34; *ðerhsuere* 5. 33 (beside forms with *oe*, § 20); *gefered* 14. 11; *f'uered* 9. 16; *geberede* 9. 36; *welle* (opt.) I 4. 5.

ongægn 25. 6, &c. may belong here; v. §§ 1, 21.

æ occurs in: *mæte* 26. 7 (B. § 168, anm. 2); *sæccendum* I 20. 20; *gesæcca* I 9. 2; *onsæcco* 10. 33 (beside *onsaccas* I 6. 16 (3); *sacas* 27. 13); *fædere* (ds.) I 14. 14; *fæder* (3) (§ 1). For *plægde* 11. 17; *geplægde* 14. 6 v. S. § 416, anm. 13.

2. *a* becomes *æ* in certain words in which an *i* or *j* follows upon an original guttural vowel of the middle syllable; cf. S. §§ 50, anm. 2; 100, anm. 4; Lind.² § 65; B. § 174. Examples are: *lætmet* 5. 26; *fæsten* I 7. 3; *gedæfnad* 3. 15; *ædgædre* 9. 17 (beside *ædgeadre* 13. 29 (§ 21)).

3. a (= Prim. OE. æ) + i before consonant groups appears normally as æ (S. § 89, 2; B. § 169, a; Lind.² § 64). Examples are: *fæstas* 6. 17; *genægleda* 27. 31; *genæglað* 27. 22; *mæstelberg* 7. 6 mg.; *ræstende* 9. 10; *ræst* I 8. 6; *geræste* I 6. 14; *geræstun* 9. 10.

e (e) occurs in: *geefnade* I 21. 17; *eft* 5. 23; *restað* 26. 45, &c. (5); *reſte* I 18. 19; *reſto* 23. 6; *rest* 11. 29 (2); *esne*, *efne-*, 10. 24; 18. 33; *carcērn*, *ber-*, 14. 10; 3. 12; *carcern*, *gemot-*, *ber-*, 25. 39; 27. 27; 6. 26; *hnesc* 24. 32 (v. S., *Beit*. XXIV, 383); *hnescniscum* 11. 8.

For WS. *giest* occurs *gest* 25. 35; *gestig* 25. 38 (v. Björkman, *Scand. Loan-Words in ME.* p. 152).

For the i in *gehrine* (<**geregno*) I 2. 13 v. *Lea* § 23, note; Lind.² § 28, anm. 2.

Unexplained: *nevðe* I 4. 3.

Loanwords: *æced* 27. 48; *plæcena* 6. 5; *segne* 13. 47, &c.; *cælces* (beside *calic* 20. 22 (§ 1)) 23. 25; *ælmessa* 6. 2; *ællmessa* 6. 4 (cf. § 1 for length).

I suspect *bæstere* 3. 1; *bæðcere* I 16. 5 to be a corruption of Lat. *baptista*, with the i causing umlaut, but assimilated to OE. *bæð* and the ending -ere. If this be true, it is of course impossible to say whether the word belongs here, or, through analogy, under § 1, II. It follows that I do not accept Brown's (§ 12, b) assumed connexion with *bæðsian* <**bæðisōn*; cf. B. § 521.

4. If an æ, occurring according to rule in early primitive OE., is supplanted by an a which occurs in other forms of the word, or in related words, then this a becomes æ through umlaut from a following i, j (v. B. § 177; S. § 89, 3; *Decanatsp.* p. 18 ff.). This occurs in the 2 and 3 sing. of *sægga*, *fara*; *sæges* 26. 70; *sægga* 28. 8; *sægeð* 12. 18; *færes* 8. 19; *færeð* 5. 30. Forms without gemination in the 1 sg. pres. ind. are to be regarded as late ones, particularly in the case of *habba* whose plural forms are built with a: *habbað* 27. 65; *habbas* 15. 35. æ occurs in the opt.: *hæbbe* 19. 16 (5); furthermore, *wæccas* 24. 42 (6);

wæcas 26. 41; awæccas 11. 5 (2); mægen 11. 12; mæden 14. 11; ðæcille 5. 15; gæfil 7. 25 (§ 23); hæcla 5. 40; furthermore, ahæfen 23. 12; geslaegen I 19. 4; v. S., Decanatsp. pp. 23, 24; Lind.² § 66; cf. Paul, Beit. V, 74 ff, 240.

5. The i-umlaut of WGmc. a before nasals is e. The examples are: brengað 14. 17; stencgum 26. 55; leng 26. 65; aðenede 8. 3; geðen 12. 13; bendum 11. 2; cende 1. 16; cennisse 6. 21; accenned 2. 2; endung 13. 39; ende 24. 6; ende(brednis) I 2. 16; geendades 21. 16; onfenge I 9. 2; menigo (sb.) 9. 25; menigo (adj.) 8. 1; wlenca 13. 22; benemned 9. 9; genemnede I 2. 12; sendende 27. 35; gesendnes 21. 6; penning 20. 2; unðuenum 15. 20 (beside unðweanum I 19. 17; v. S. § 392, anm. 2); penningslæht 17. 25; getemeseda 12. 4; ðende 26. 6; tostengcid 26. 31; ðene I 1. 4 (Streitberg § 187, 2 b); ðencendum I 20. 12; men 26. 18; menn 5. 19; menniscos I 17. 7; ofgedrenced 18. 6; henne 23. 37; gemenced 27. 34; gimencged I 3. 9; wendas I 17. 17; eftgewende I 19. 7 (forms with oe, § 20); unscendende 27. 24; scenc 10. 42; besenced 13. 6; ðuuenegu 23. 5; gescrencde 13. 6.

oe occurs in unawoemdo 19. 12, the result perhaps of w influence, as suggested by F. p. 25.

Loanwords: embichta I 5. 14; embehtane 20. 28; embehtmonn 20. 26; engel 1. 20; englum 16. 27; cempo 27. 27; fotscemel 22. 44 (beside fotscoemel 5. 35; fotsconol 22. 44; v. Pog. §§ 187, 261).

ō, the result of the loss of n before a voiceless spirant, becomes ōe when umlauted in: oehtas 5. 11; oehtnisse, 13. 21; geoehton 5. 12 > *anþjan.

6. The i-umlaut of WGmc. a before r+cons. is e. The examples are: dernunga 19. 18; dernelegere 19. 9; cerrende 27. 39 (beside cearro 12. 44, § 18); gecerdo 7. 6; ofercerr 1. 11; gērd 10. 10; gērd 11. 7 (§ 23); merra (sb.) 27. 63; merras 22. 29; huerf 16. 26; huerfa 5. 42; gi-hwerfde I 2. 2; gerelum 11. 8; gegerues 6. 30 mg.; geger-

wad 22. 4; gegeredon 27. 31; ongeredon 27. 31; f'bernes 3. 12; f'berned 13. 6 (B. § 180, b); werges 15. 4; gewergedra I 1. 11 (forms with oe, § 20); erfeðo 26. 10; erfeweard 21. 38; erfeweardnisse 21. 38; ernincg I 14. 7, &c. (2).

æ occurs in: wærco 24. 8; hwærflung 24. 24; hwærfa 13. 15, probably under influence of w; v. § 20; F. p. 25.

i-umlaut occurs in ehera I 18. 20 (B. § 180, b).

Loanword: meregrotta I 19. 12; meregreotta 13. 46.

7. The i-umlaut of WGmc. a before l + cons. is æ and e. The examples of æ are: ældra 26. 3; ældrum 27. 41 (beside ældrum 10. 21; ældo 16. 1, &c.); eftawælte 28. 2; gewælteno 17. 14; saltwælla I 1. 7; cælfes I 7. 9 (B. § 175); gehæld 27. 65 (§ 23); fæll 7. 27; gefælde I 21. 11 (B. § 175); gefællnise 1. 12; gesælted 5. 13; bældo I 7. 2.

æ occurs before the secondary combination lc in: swælc 6. 27 (7); huælc 6. 27 (7) (forms with e, v. below; forms with oe, v. § 20; v. also B. § 168, anm. 2).

e occurs in: hwele I 1. 6, &c.; swelc I 3. 3 (beside swilce I 18. 13 (v. S. §§ 342, anm. 3; 345, anm.); eghule 12. 31); harwelle I 1. 5; hundwelle 13. 8; rumwelle 7. 13 (B. § 175, anm.); celfes I 8. 5. ea occurs in onweald 20. 25.

For the e in felle(read) 27. 28 v. F. p. 25.

Loanword: gecælcad 23. 27 (Pog. § 272).

I. Umlaut of o.

The i-umlaut of o is oe and e. For its occurrence v. S. § 93, anm.; also B. § 164. The examples are: doehter 21. 5; merne 21. 18; oefistende I 7. 15; oefestlice 8. 32; gewoerden 11. 21; gecnoeden 13. 13 (S. §§ 100, anm. 4; 378, anm. 1; Decanatsp. p. 20).

Loanword: oele 25. 3, 4.

III. Umlaut of u.

The i-umlaut of u is y; i and ui occur in a few cases for y (S. § 6, anm. 1).

The examples of y are: geðyld 18. 26; scyld 18. 25; gescyld 18. 34; scyldiga I 20. 13; unscyldig 27. 24; ðynces 26. 66; ymbcyrf I 14. 4; ðyrl (sometimes ÿ; S. § 218; B. § 529)

19.24; cyssende 26.48; snytro 11.19; snytry 13.54; gyrdils 3.4; f'wyrđ 26.8; wirtum 13.32; wyrtrumma 3.10; unwyrtrumias 13.29; đyrstas 5.6; đyrstende 25.37; đyrstig 25.35; smyltnisse 8.26; cyme 10.13, &c.; cymmeđ 21.38, &c. (S. § 390, anm. 2; PG. p. 433, § 166); hyncgrađ 5.6; hyncgrende 25.37; gehyncgerde 4.2; byrig 1.3 (§ 48); cynig 2.2; cyningum 10.18; undercyniges (PG. p. 935) 27.27; cynmenn 22.2; cynn 3.7; cynnrecenisse I 7.11; cynnresuu I 16.1; eftcynnes 19.28; fyrhtnise 14.26; fyrhto 28.4 (§ 48); fyllenne 5.17; fyllnise 9.16; fylges 10.38; gefylegdon 27.55 (§ 48); forhycganne I 20.11; hyhtađ 12.21; gemynd 26.13; gemyndgade I 19.6; eftgemyndig 26.75; eftgemynas 16.9; styrende 11.7; styrnise 8.24; unstyrendelico 23.4; gestyred 15.22; synn 12.31; hehsynne 12.5; synfullo 9.13; synngade 27.4; synnig 19.9; bærsynnig 18.17; getrymmeđ I 5.1; untrymnise 4.23; untrymmig 25.36; symbel 22.4; syndrig 25.15; ymb 3.4; ymbhyrft I 1.2; yfla 16.4; geyfled 22.6; wyrcenda 26.10; gewyrcas 6.2; bebyrgdon 14.12; bibyrignisa (§ 48) 27.7; byrgennes 27.60; byges 13.44; bibycenda I 21.3; byrđen 11.30; byrđenstan 18.6; tocyme I 14.7; (eorđ)cryppel 8.6; drysnes 12.20; gedrysned 25.8; undrysneđe 3.12; geondspyrede 15.12; ondspyre 17.27; ondspyrnađ 18.8 (4); ondspyrnis 18.7; byrn 20.12; wyrrihta 13.55 (§ 48); dyrstige I 7.1; gidyrstig 22.46; gidyrsgindum I 2.2; lysnas 13.8; hrycgas 13.17; hrygum 13.7; hryum 7.16 (§ 43); ryfte 27.31; cystum 10.8 mg.; hygdlike 19.12; geyppe 13.35; lyg 11.24 (S. § 263, anm. 5); lyce 26.60; cnysađ 7.7; cnysend 7.8; wynnsumiađ 5.12; bilyrtet 2.16; strynda 19.28; cnyllas 7.7; cnylende 7.8; gescyfen I 18.11 (S. § 385, anm. 2); nytanne 5.28; nytt 21.3; dysge 7.26.

For nymđe 13.57 v. MLN. IX, pp. 156, 313, 318; Kal. § 199, 4; scyl drum 23.4 v. § 21; wyrs 9.16; wyrđe 13.46 v. § 20, I.

Unexplained: gewrynded 7.25.

For the origin of *y* in *dyde* and North. *styd* (S. § 263, anm. 5) v. Sievers, *Beit.* XVI, pp. 235, 236; *KL.*, PG. p. 402, §§ 102 ff.; B. § 556, anm. The examples are: *dydest* 20. 12; *dyde* I 21. 5 (17); *ðyde* 25. 5 (§ 39); *dydon* 7. 22 (11); *fdyde* 22. 7; *gedyde* 13. 26 (2); *gedydon* 12. 14 (2); *styde* 21. 1; I 9. 17; *stydom* I. 10. 4.

ui (*wi*) for *y* occurs in *bærsuinnig* I 6. 4 (4); *unsuinnigo* 12. 7; *gefuilgide* I 3. 3; *tonuicte* I 8. 15; *suindrige* I 9. 9, &c. (12); *suindir* I 3. 7; *swindrigum* I 4. 1; *suindria* 19. 6; *ymbhuirft* (?) 24. 14; *wuire* (?) 21. 28.

i for *y* occurs in (B., *Angl. Beib.* X, 7; *EB.* § 307, e; S. § 31, anm.): *cining*, *cinig* 1. 6; *drihten* 8. 21 (always); *hinegrig* 25. 35; *bisen* I 4. 4 (yet cf. *Lind.*² § 72, anm.); *scile* 6. 24; *lamwrihtæs* 27. 10; *lamwrihta* 27. 7; *ofcimes* 15. 11; *awurigde* 27. 5; *ymbhuirft* (?) 24. 14; also in the proper names: *ægipt* 2. 15; *ægiptum* I. 5. 6; *tiro* 11. 21; *sirisc* I 6. 10; *hesichio* I 2. 11; *babilones* 1. 11.

For the *i* in *wircas* 5. 32, &c. v. § 19, V.

e for *y* occurs in: (ende)brednis I 2. 16 (S. § 180); for Lat. *y* in *efne* 26. 30; *yv* in *byvrug* 22. 7; *yui* in *hryuic* I 7. 18; *uy* in *suyndriga* I 9. 1; *iy* in *lyyce* 26. 60.

y for *i* occurs in: *gestylton* 12. 33; *wiðstyla* 21. 21; *symle* 9. 14 (5); *geceyged* 1. 15 (2); *ðyostrum* 8. 12: *ðyne* 4. 12 mg.; *ðys* 12. 42 (2); *wynnas* 6. 28; *wynnunga* 13. 26; *wynstra* I 22. 3; v. B. § 282; in the proper name: *moyses* 8. 4; *y* for Lat. *e* in *trymes* 17. 27.

As *w* was frequently written *u*, and *y* sometimes *ui*, the scribe may easily have slipped from *wi* to *y*, which is probably what occurs in *tyggum* 13. 32.

Loanwords: *cyrtel* 5. 40; *cyrtlas* 10. 10; *mynittre* 22. 19; *mynetrum* 25. 27; *gescyrtd* 24. 22 (2) (PG. p. 338); *spyne* 27. 48; *spynga* 27. 48; *bytto* 9. 17 (PG. p. 335).

IV. Umlaut of *ō*.

1. The *i*-umlaut of *ō* is *öe*. The examples are: *foedas* 6. 26; *foedendum* 24. 19; *gefoede* 8. 30; *bōec* I 20. 14; *boec* I. 1. 13; *boecer* I 2. 3; *boetas* I 3. 13; *eftgeboetat* I 2. 2;

geboettande I 3. 8 (beside *gebeotes* I 14. 13, scribal error);
 doege 26. 29; doemeð I 7. 16; gedoemendo 20. 10; doema
 (sb.) I 1. 2; doemeras 12. 27; foerde 19. 15; gefoerende
 25. 15; gedroefed 14. 26; foeðemenn 14. 13; foet I 7. 17;
 froefra 2. 18; gefroefred 5. 4; woepende 2. 18; broemende
 I 5. 5; gloetas I 7. 18; geroefa 27. 2; froecenlic I 1. 4;
 hroeðo 8. 28; oeðel 3. 5; fæderoeðel I 19. 14; moeder
 15. 4, 5; broeðer 7. 4; hroerende 27. 39; inhroered 27. 51;
 hroernis 8. 24; eorðhroernise 27. 54; grōetas 10. 12; groe-
 tango 23. 7; unspoedge 5. 3 mg.; bloedsende I 20. 16;
 gebloesad 21. 9 (beside *gebleosad* 21. 9, scribal error);
 woestern 4. 1; woestig I 19. 19; gewoested 12. 25; tuoentig
 I 8. 2; soecað 7. 7 (beside *socenda* I 17. 13), &c.; soel 19. 27;
 boege 15. 14; unbliðmoede 26. 37; gemoette 20. 6 (beside
gemitte 18. 18 (§ 23)); wloeh 23. 5; scoea 10. 10.

ð occurs in: *gebledsade* 14. 19; *gebledsad* 23. 39 (§ 23);
westig 23. 38; *werignise* 6. 34; *suēt* 11. 30; *gefero* I 20. 14;
sellra 10. 31 (§ 23); *teða* 8. 12.

2. *ōē* is the i-umlaut of *ō* (= Gmc. *æ*) before nasals in:
woeno 24. 6; *marawoen* 7. 11; *woenas* 24. 50 (beside *wenes*
 18. 1); *woende* I 3. 8; *cwoen* I 19. 6 (beside *cuen* 12. 42);
portwoeno 21. 31 (beside *-cuenum* I 21. 7); *cuenhiordo*
 19. 12.

For *oe* in the verb *doa* v. S. § 429, anm. 2; cf. Cos. § 79.

V. Umlaut of *ū*.

1. The i-umlaut of *ū* is *ȳ*. The examples are: *untynes* 5.
 19; *ūntynde* 9. 30 (§ 23); *getyndon* 13. 15; *byeð* 19. 29;
unbyid I 19. 19; *unbyedum* I 7. 12; *gebyedon* 12. 45; *brydes*
 22. 11; *brydgum* 25. 5; *brydlic* 22. 12; *brydlopa* 22. 2;
brydreaf 22. 11; *drygi* 23. 15; *dryia* 12. 43; *drug* (*druig*?)
 I 21. 4; *druī* I 19. 1 (§ 42); *dryi* 12. 10; *gehydde* 25. 25;
gehyded 10. 26; (*h*)*ryno* 13. 11; *geryno* 4. 13 mg.; (*w*)*yt-*
mesto 8. 12; *geðryde* I 3. 7; *geðryhton* I 3. 4 (S. §§ 117,
 anm.; 408, anm. 18); *lydeng* 25. 6; *fyr* 13. 40.

In *ðyril* I 6. 1 < **pyr̥il* (*purh*) secondary lengthening
 may occur (B. § 529).

INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBORING SOUNDS 33

For the *y* in *lytel* 5. 19 v. S., *Beit.* X, 504; cf. *KL.-L.*, *Eng. Ety.*; for *scuia* 4. 16; *shya* I 6. 6; *ofscyade* 17. 5 v. § 21.

Loanword: *dryum* 2. 16 (S. § 266, *anm.* 2).

2. The i-umlaut of *ū* from *un* is *y*. The examples are: *cyðað* 26. 62; *cyðic* 26. 73; *cyðnise* 24. 14; *f'cyðde* I 21. 12; *yðum* 8. 24.

VI. For the umlaut of *ē* (= Gmc. *æ*, WS. *æ*) v. S § 91; B. § 192; F. p. 13; *Lea* § 45.

VII. Umlaut of *ai*.

The i-umlaut of *ai* (= OE. *ā*) is *æ*; there are a few instances of *ē*.

1. *æ* occurs in: *gebrædon* 21. 8; *braeda* I 17. 20; *hæto* 20. 12; *cægum* I 20. 4; *caegas* 16. 19; *mænende* 9. 23; *gemænas* 5. 5; *gemænnisse* I 7. 3; *uræðes* 5. 22; *wuræðde* 18. 34 (beside *wuraðo* 3. 7); *clæðdon* 25. 36 (v. Björkman, *Scand. Loan-Words in ME.* p. 108, note); *stænas* 23. 37; *stænna* 26. 7; *stæner* 13. 5; *staener* 13. 20; *gestændon* 21. 35; *sæs* 14. 24; *sæes* 18. 6; *sæburug* 4. 13; *saes* 8. 27; *æhta* 19. 22; *hwæte* 13. 25; *læðedon* 5. 44; *læððo* 6. 24; *læðo* 5. 43 (2); *læsðo* 20. 13; *lædes* 7. 14; *tolæddon* 21. 7; *gelaedon* 27. 2; *gelaeded* I 2. 10; *ingelaede* I 5. 15; *hæðna* 20. 25; *hædnum* 10. 18; *gelæfed* 15. 37; *lærende* 21. 35; *lærde* I 20. 13, &c.; *hæleð* I 18. 2; *hælde* 21. 14; *hælendes* 14. 1; *hælend* I 6. 8; *hælo* I 6. 11; *gehaeled* I 19. 9; *ūnhælo* 9. 35; *clænum* 27. 59; *clænlice* I 8. 8; *clænnisse* 1. 18 *mg.*; *clænsas* 10. 8; *æfre* 5. 34; *ær* 5. 12; *aer* 23. 13; *ærrum* 12. 45; *ærest* I 4. 3; *ærðon* 26. 34; *ræceð* 7. 9; *ræces* 7. 10; *æe* 22. 40; *æs* 22. 35; *æ* 7. 12; *æq* I 2. 13; *gemærum* 6. 2; *gespræde* 8. 3; *dælum* 27. 51; *daelum* I 6. 11; *eastdæl*, *wes-*, 2. 2; 24. 27; *suðdæles* 12. 42; *dælenne* 10. 35; *ænig* 12. 29; *æniht* 19. 10; *ænigmon* 12. 19; *nænig* 24. 36; *nænigmonn* 22. 46; *næniht* 17. 20; *næfre* 9. 33; *ællef* I 22. 9; *ællefta* 20. 6 (with shortening according to Lind.² § 75); *tuæm* I 14. 3 (beside *tucem* I 17. 9); *huæm* 11. 16; *chwæm* I 9. 13 (§ 44); *ðær* (*gsf.*) 1. 6; *ðære*

34 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

20. 8; ðære (gp.) 22. 9; ðæm (dp.) 13. 11; ðæm 9. 2; læs 5. 25; læss 4. 6; læssa I 3. 7 (beside leasse I 3. 7; leasest I 20. 10; v. S. § 312, anm.; B. § 246; Lind.³ § 75); ænne I 14. 14 (S. § 324, anm. 1); mæðon 26. 53; (dæg)hūæm 26. 55; -hæmlice 20. 2; æne (av.) I 1. 7; æterna 12. 34 (v. NED. 'ator,' 'adder'); gehælgas 23. 19; gehælgenne 10. 14 mg.; gælsō 13. 22; tæslicro 25. 9.

hæl in la hæl usic (= osanna) 21. 15, &c. is regarded by Kl., PG. p. 933 as a Scand. loanword. The form haelig which he mentions p. 1034 is not given by Cook. Björkman, *ibid.* p. 39, regards this word as 'dubiously Scand.'

(h)ræs 8. 32; inræsdon 7. 25 is a difficult word; v. Cos. § 57; Kl.-L., Eng. Ety. 'race'; Lea § 42, 1; Björkman, *ibid.* p. 96 and notes.

æ = WGmc. ai occurs in wæ 11. 21 (beside wę 23. 27; v. Lea § 43, 5; PG. p. 935; Björkman, *ibid.* p. 39).

For the æ in mædne 14. 11 (secondary lengthening) v. § 43; in (h)ræfneð 6. 24 v. Paul, Beit. VI, 553; PG. p. 426, § 156.

strædena (passus) 5. 41 is not clear, unless it be from the pret. sg. stem of strīdan, as seems probable.

hūæstredon (murmurare) 20. 11 is not clear. May not the root be the same as in hwēzan, hwēsan? cf. S. § 396, 2 b.

2. ē occurs in: huuete I 9. 10; ærgelered 14. 8; eghuele 5. 22, &c.; egðer 13. 30; enne 5. 18, &c. (with shortening; v. S. § 324, anm.; B. §§ 179, anm.; 337); geneolecas 26. 45 (beside geneolocedon 4. 11; geneolacede 4. 3, &c. (3); v. B. § 427); esuice 5. 47; esuica 13. 22; gebredon 21. 8 (B. § 516); flesc 16. 17; v. B. § 167, anm.

Loanwords: cæseres I 20. 0; cæsarienisca I 3. 2; ðræles I 20. 13; ðrael 24. 48 (v. Kl., NStB. § 18; Björkman, *ibid.* p. 19). For ællmessa 6. 4; allmissa I 17. 6 v. §§ 1, 17.

VIII. Umlaut of au.

The i-umlaut of au (= OE. ēa) is ē. The examples are: becon 24. 3; gebecnades I 4. 10; neten I 8. 4; hremende

2. 18; degelnisse 6. 6; dēglice 20. 17; ðeglike 24. 3 (§ 39); gedegled I 7. 8; cepinc 22. 5; cepe 13. 45; cepemon' 21. 12; nede I 5. 8; geneddōn 27. 32; nedgaefel I 20. 8; nednima 23. 25; nedunga 11. 12; heg 6. 30; lef 8. 21; gelefdest 8. 13 (beside gelæfdon I 6. 6); gēm 18. 15; gemende 6. 25; gemnise 9. 12; geme(me)lease (scribal error) I 20. 11; herdon 10. 27; herranne 13. 9; hernisses 11. 15; hernise 13. 14; gehercnadon 22. 22; recels 2. 11; beges 18. 4; underbeged I 3. 11; eðre 10. 15; alesenis 20. 28; eftlesing 20. 28; ðepeð (depeð) 26. 23; eccanne I 1. 9; geecte I 22. 1 (v. Cos. § 12; Kal. § 61, c); ungelefenra I 21. 11; ungelefenise 13. 58; gesene (v. S. § 222, 2; F. § 17, VII; Lea § 60); eðmod 11. 29; eðmodiges 18. 4.

ei (ey) for e appears in all forms of ceiga; also in leigeðslæhtas I 8. 3; deiglo 13. 35; gedeigeldes 11. 25; v. § 14.

IX. The i-umlaut of iu (= WGmc. i before r + cons.) does not occur in North.; v. B. § 187.

X. Umlaut of iu, eu.

In Anglian iu, iō (ēo?) remain un-umlauted (§ 13; B. § 191; cf. S. § 159, 5; F. § 17, VIII).

In Decanatsp. p. 31 and note, S. states that the iō in diopnise 13. 11 is umlauted by the suffix -nis; also that hriofol 8. 3 is the umlaut form from *hreufuli.

§ 18. u- and o/a-Umlaut.

Only the palatal vowels e, i, and æ are affected by u- and o/a-umlaut in North. (S. § 160, 2; B. §§ 226, 231; Angl. Beib. IX, 67, note). This umlaut is caused by an original u or o/a of either a derivative suffix, or of an inflexional syllable (S. §§ 101-7; B. § 227); and as a rule penetrates only single consonants, though it sometimes occurs before double consonants (B. §§ 244, 245). As do the breakings-diphthongs eo and io, so also do the umlaut-diphthongs eo and io maintain their individuality in North. (S., Decanatsp.

36 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

p. 26 ff.; B. § 236). e becomes eo and ea according as u or a causes the umlaut, with only an occasional exception like *mealo* (<**melu*) 13. 33 (B. § 236).

1. e>eo caused by an original u, o of a derivative suffix: *heofone* 14. 19 (beside *heafnas* 5. 45 (2)); *heofonlic* 5. 48; *seofona* 15. 34; *sefo* I 20. 13 (beside *sefo* 18. 21 (§ 34)); *seofofallice* I 19. 7; *seofunda* I 13. 17.

ea occurs in: *seatul* 23. 2; *seatlas* 23. 6; *ceatlas* 21. 12 (§ 42) as the result of a secondary vowel in the derivative syllable.

2. e>eo, ea caused by an inflexional u or o/a: *ongeota* I 14. 15; *eottað* 26. 26; *eottanne* 26. 17; *feolo* 6. 7; *feole* 13. 5; *heono* 11. 10 (beside *heno* 2. 9; ^h*eno* 1. 20; *heuno* 12. 47, which is a scribal error; v. S., *Decanatasp.* p. 30); *hondbreodo* 26. 67; *geana* 16. 9 (3); *geafa* 2. 11; *geafanne* I 16. 15, &c.; *beara* 3. 11; *begeatas*, on-, 7. 7; 7. 16 (2); *eftongeattas* I 15. 3; *eottas* 15. 2; *eatta* 6. 31; *mealo* 13. 33; *fstealas* 6. 19; *fsteala* 27. 64; *gecueada* 7. 22; *hearta* 16. 2.

3. i>io is caused by an original u of the derivative suffix: *cliopade* 14. 30; *clioppadon* 14. 26 (no forms without umlaut; v. S. § 370); *cliopung* I 15. 1; *ðiosne* 11. 23 (S. § 105, anm. 8); *hlionade* 26. 20; *gelionodon* 14. 9; *gristbiottung* 8. 12, &c. (5); *wiototlice* 2. 3; *wiotetlice* 2. 10; *hioful* I 7. 9 (of this word Sievers writes: 'Das Wort erscheint nur Mt. I. 7. 9 und ist von Skeat (und danach von Cook) missverstanden. Ersterer bemerkt zur Stelle "MS. *nioful*, alt. to *hioful*," es steht aber (nach meiner Collation) *hioful* da, und das ist in *hnioful* aufzulösen = WS. *hnifol*, wofür bei Bosworth-Toller Belege gegeben sind.' *Decanatasp.* p. 31).

4. i>io is caused by an original u of the inflexional syllable: *wrioto* 26. 56; *wuriotto*, ge-, 26. 54; 22. 29; *arioson* 25. 7; *sciopum* 13. 48; *ædwuio-ton* 27. 44; *bioðon* 11. 18.

For *ðiofunta* 15. 19; *ðiofonta* 19. 18 v. § 13; S., De-

canatsp. p. 31. For io in hiorodæs 13. 27 v. § 29; S. § 43, anm. 4.

o/a-umlaut occurs in hiora I 6. 5 (beside hiara 6. 14; heora 9. 4 (2); hearra 6. 5; v. S., Decanatsp. p. 32); niomað 19. 11; niomonde 26. 57; niomende 27. 27, &c. (2); niomas 25. 28; niomanne 5. 40 (2); geniomes 11. 12; genioma 12. 1 (3); rioppas 6. 26; liomana I 20. 11; nioðaweard 27. 51; nioðmesta 2. 16.

As umlaut of y which perhaps had previously become i there occur in Mt.: sciolon 13. 13 (2); sciolun 5. 46; sciol' 13. 13; v. B. § 252; S., Decanatsp. p. 27, note 3.

As umlaut of æ, according to B. § 251, occur: geadrías 13. 29, &c. (11); v. § 21, II; furthermore in: gefeastnadon I 22. 6; soðfeastnisse I 16. 14; wisfeast 19. 21 (beside efnegefestnade I 21. 7; meassa I 22. 14).

u- o/a-umlaut occurs before double consonants occasionally (B. §§ 245-50). The following instances occur: before ss, æ in: meassa I 22. 14; perhaps also æ < æ in lease I 3. 7; before ll, e in: seallanne I 21. 10; sealla 14. 7, &c. (v. F. § 18, b; cf. S. §§ 80, anm. 2; 158, 2); before rr, perhaps e in: cearro 12. 44; before nd, i in bihionda 4. 25; before st, æ in: gefeastnadon I 22. 6, &c. (v. § above); before lf, i in seolfern I 22. 5 (beside sulfer 10. 9; v. B. §§ 239, 326; Lind.² § 87).

§ 19. So-called Palatal Umlaut.

The following study is based upon S. §§ 108-9; 161-5, and Bülbring, Angl. Beib. VII, IX, X; EB. chaps. 10, 16; also §§ 512-6. For the reasons suggested by F. § 19, it has seemed best to me not to attempt to distinguish the so-called palatal umlaut ('ebnung') from the real palatization of 'certain vowels and diphthongs before ht, hs, hþ when not immediately followed or preceded by a velar vowel' (B. § 193, anm.).

I. ea becomes æ before h, ht, x (=hs): gesæh 3. 16;

38 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

gesægh 2. 16; gesæh 9. 2 (5); æhteða I 3. 17 (beside eahteða (§ 16, III) I 9. 8); mæht 8. 2; mæhtu 5. 36; mæhton 17. 19; mæhton 17. 16; mæhtum I 18. 12; allmæhtig, un-, I 8. 7; 19. 26; wæxas 6. 28; gewæx I 3. 6; vrittsæx I 2. 18; gewahten I 18. 5; slæhtas 4. 9; leigeðslæhtas I 2. 18; penningslæht 17. 25.

e appears in: efnebeðeht 6. 29; awehton 8. 25; geweht I 8. 10 (S. § 162, anm. 3); and eae in efnegeðeaehtas 18. 19.

F. § 19, 1 explains the e (i) of embeht as a secondary suffix-ablaut o: e, whereby the i-umlaut of the first syllable is also explained; but cf. Lea § 18, 1 b. The following are the forms in Mt.: embichta I 5. 4; embigto 25. 44; embehtane 20. 28; geembihtæs I 18. 2; geembehtadon 4. 11; geembihtatun I 5. 3; geembehte 4. 10; embehtmonn 20. 26; embihtmonn 23. 11.

Pal. influence, perhaps, occurs in almissa I 17. 6 (B. § 516).

ea becomes e before rc, rg: bergum I 17. 13; mæstelbergas 7. 6 mg.; mercum I 9. 14; mercande 27. 66; mercunga I 9. 19.

æ appears in the loanword: ærce 24. 38; aerca I 6. 3 (v. Kl., PG. p. 334).

II. ēa becomes ē before h, g, c: heh 4. 8; hehstald 1. 23; heghseðel 23. 22; lege (bege) 27. 29; becon 24. 3; ego 5. 29; lehtunum 23. 23; beges 18. 14; gebrēc 12. 4; gebrecon 13. 4 (2) (the pl. pret. formed with vowel of the sg. pret.); ec 22. 8 (17); ec l. 21 (27); eēc I 2. 1; nec 10. 24 (no forms with æ; cf. F. § 19, II); ðeh 26. 33 (beside ðah 5. 29 (2); v. S. § 163, anm. 1; cf. B., Angl. Beib. IX, 100; EB. §§ 317, 454); neh 24. 32; genehuas 19. 5 (v. S. §§ 163, 165, anm. 3; cf. B. § 199; F. § 19, IV); deg 16. 26 (S. § 421, 3); gefleh I 16. 4.

III. eo becomes e before h, c, g, x (=hs), ht, rc, rh: geseh 8. 4; feh 10. 9; gefehtana 24. 6; reht 20. 4; recta I 7. 13; rehtlice I 5. 10; rehtnise 12. 36; sex 17. 1; sexdig 13. 23 (v. B. § 211); berhto I 9. 10; werces I 15. 4 (forms with oe, v. § 20); ðerh I 6. 3 (beside ðorh 26. 24; v. B. § 454;

INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBORING SOUNDS 39

F. § 19, III); sprecca 10. 20; recone 21. 2; hreconlice 28. 8; and the loan-word reglas I 8. 2.

æ appears in cnæht 2. 9, &c.; ræhta 3. 3; a in erendraca I 18. 7; ei in neirxnawonga I 6. 2; reihtniiss I 4. 10; ceica 5. 39; v. § 14; S. § 164, anm. 1; B. § 211.

IV. ēo becomes ē before c, g, h, ht: flegende 8. 20; flegendo 6. 26; flege 23. 24; bræcsec 4. 24; bræccec 17. 15 (beside bræceic (?) I 20. 7 (§ 14)); legere 15. 7; rēcende, smēcende 12. 20; leht 4. 16; fleh 2. 13.

Palatal influence may appear in brest I 6. 14; v. F. § 19, IV.

V. io becomes i before c, g, h, rc, rg, *hs*(χ), ht, hð: wiht 14. 26; æniht 19. 10; næniht 5. 13; givixla I 3. 1; gesihða 17. 9; (h)rihð I 2. 4; rihtannæ I 2. 14; girihtad I 2. 17; nigona 18. 12 (2); gibirigde 27. 34 (§ 48); tuigge 24. 32 (beside tyggum (§ 17, III) 13. 32); wircas 5. 32 (2); geuirce 5. 36; uinwirccendum I 21. 8; v. B. §§ 201; 262, anm.

VI. iō becomes ī before c, h, x (= *hs*), ht: lihteð 5. 15; geinlihted I 21. 2 (beside lehteð 5. 16; v. S. § 165, anm. 2; B. §§ 198; 515); lixeð 13. 43; lixung I 16. 13; lihtre 10. 15 (beside leht (levis) 11. 30; v. S. § 165, anm. 2; B. § 199); bituih 3. 9 (S. § 165, anm. 2; B. § 196); flias 24. 16; cicceno 23. 37 (B. § 195); wigbed 23. 19 (S. § 222, anm. 1).

With the early disappearance of h before voiced consonants this smoothing ('ebnung') of the diphthong did not take place, as in: neoleces 26. 46; heanisse 13. 5 (v. § 16, III; S. § 165, anm. 3).

§ 20. Influence of Labials.

Angl. Beib. X, 368 ff. contains an article by Bülbring, 'Zur altnordhumbrischen Grammatik.' After a detailed consideration of certain phenomena in Lind., Lea, and Cook (Gloss.), Bülbring suggests it as probable that wo in 'suoe' and wu in 'wuraeðde' stand for initial w (v. also EB. § 463). He furthermore deduces that such forms as oeg, soestra,

coeð, woep, &c., have not lost their initial consonant sound, since (apart from nyste, nyte, &c.) the loss of initial w before palatal vowels does not occur. Therefore, it is likely that these words are to be read ƿeg, ƿeð, ƿeſtra, ƿeap, &c. B. also calls attention to the fact that wo, uo, and o for w do not occur before i, suggesting that this may indicate a fine distinction in pronunciation.

I. Under the influence of preceding w :

1. e (= Gmc. e) is frequently changed to oe: woeg (stater) I 20. 9; woegas 7. 2 (beside wæges 5. 11; gewegen 7. 2 (§ 2); weg I 20. 9); eghwoelcum 5. 7 mg. (2); woerc I 18. 8; woercmenn 20. 1, &c. (2); (hwele)huoege 20. 20; hwoth-hwoego 5. 23; woel 3. 17; woeg 4. 15, &c.; uoeg 5. 25 (beside weg 7. 13; oeg 10. 10; wegana 22. 9); suoefnum 1. 20 (beside soefen 27. 19; soefnum 2. 19; suefnum 2. 12); suoester 12. 50 (2) (beside soestra 19. 29); cuoeðes 25. 40; cuoeðað 11. 17; cwoeða 26. 22; cwoeðenne I 8. 8; cwoeðende I 5. 1; acwoedni 26. 30 (v. S. § 370, anm. 7; Paul, Beit. VI, 38); dwoellende I 20. 12 (beside (ge)duellas 22. 29 (§ 2)); bewoedded 1. 18; huoeipas 15. 27 (B. § 277); woesta 8. 11; huoeðer 26. 22 (2); huoeðre 3. 8 (beside hueoðer 12. 23 (scribal error); hueðer (§ 2) 7. 6, &c.); soðhuoeðre 11. 24 (v. Morsbach, p. 131; cf. S. § 156, 1).

æ occurs in wæra 27. 52; wæs (imp.) 2. 13 (B. § 92, anm.).

2. ę is changed to oe: eftgewoende 2. 14, &c. (3); gewoendas 10. 13, &c. (2); ðonagewoende 4. 12 (2); huoenne 25. 37, 44 (beside hoenne 24. 3; huonne 25. 38; v. S. § 65, anm. 2); twoelfa I 5. 6; twoelfum 5. 25; tuoelf 14. 20; tuoelfe 11. 1; awoergedo 25. 41 (beside werges 15. 4; gewergedra I 1. 11); suoeriga 23. 16 (forms with e, v. § 17).

The æ in swælce I 7. 8; hwælc 24. 44, B. § 168, anm. 2 regards as due to w-influence; hwærfa 13. 15 should be included here. w-influence may occur in unawoemdo 19. 12; v. § 17.

3. ē (= WS. *æ*) is changed to *ōē*; instances of unchanged *ē* are not rare. The examples of *ōē* are: *woepenmann* 19. 4; *woedes* I 17. 10; *hwōer* I 18. 3; *woere* 11. 23; *cuoede* 26. 25; *cuoedon* 19. 10; *cuoēdon* 12. 38; *swoese* 22. 4; and in the following words where the *ē* is of various origins: *gewroeged* 27. 12; *twoege* 26. 60; *twoe* I 2. 11; *tuoeg* 14. 17; *twoegera* I 14. 3; *tuoentig* I 8. 2; *woe* 9. 14; *uoē* 17. 18.

4. *æ* is changed to *oe* in *cuoēð* 4. 6 (beside *cuoēð* 12. 44); *cwoēð* I 5. 1.

5. *eo* (from breaking, or *u- o/a-umlaut*) is changed to *o*: *cuoða* 27. 64; *cuoðas* 28. 7; *cuoðað* 28. 13; *cuoðende* 14. 27 (5); *cuoðen'* I 16. 14 (beside *coðas* 17. 20; *cuaða* (inf.) 21. 45); *wosað* 28. 9; *wosas* 5. 48; *wosa* 4. 19; *wossa* 20. 27; *wossanne* 17. 4 (v. F. § 20, V for an explanation of the occurrence of double forms like *cuoēdo*, *cuoðað* in comparison with *wosa*); *f'uost* 10. 25; *worpes* 8. 31 (beside *towærpað* 27. 40); *worpende* 27. 5; *f'worpnise* 1. 17; *sword* 26. 52; *worðum* 6. 5; *worð* (altus) 10. 8; *worð* (pretium) 27. 6; *f'worðes* 5. 13; *geworðade* 15. 25; *worðung* I 19. 13; *worold* 12. 32; *wor'les* 13. 49.

6. *ea* is changed to *a*, sometimes *æ* (S. §§ 156, 3; 160, anm. 2; B. § 270): *walana* 13. 22 (B. § 270); *warðe* 13. 48; *gewarð* I 3. 9 (beside *awærð* 13. 21; *gewearð* (§ 16) 1. 22 (2)); *warðe* 13. 48 (beside *wearðe* 13. 2); *gewarpp* I 21. 3; *onduarde* 12. 39 (3); *geonduarde* (3); *forward* I 14. 5; *foruuard* I 10. 1 (beside *erfewaerd* I 5. 5; *touærd* 12. 32; *ufawærd* 27. 51); *waras* 14. 35 (beside *wæra* 27. 52; *weara* I 19. 5); *burguaras* 3. 5; *burgwarum* I 19. 6 (beside *burgwæras* 2. 3); *hwarf* 27. 64 (beside *hwærflung* 24. 24); *dwala* (?) I 3. 12 (v. B. § 270).

For *tua* 3. 5 (4) v. S. § 166, anm. 4.

7. *io* (from breaking, or *u- o/a-umlaut*) is changed to *w*: *wutedlice* 5. 21; *uutedlice* 15. 20; *uut'* 10. 19; *utuetlice* 18. 16; *wuted* I 1. 13, &c. (beside *wiototlice* 2. 3; *ueototlice* 3. 16; *wiotetlice* 2. 10; *woetetlice* 1. 24; *wuototlice* 3. 1;

42 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

wotetlice 1. 21; wuton 22. 16; uutas 16. 3; uuðwuta 15. 1; wuðuutum 20. 18; udu 3. 4.

For the y in wynstra I 22. 3; wynnas 6. 28; wynnung 13. 25 v. B. § 282.

The i-umlaut of this wu is y (S. § 156, 4; B. § 262): licewyrðe 11. 26; wyrðe, ar-, dior-, 13. 46; I 1. 3; wuyrse 27. 64; wyrs 9. 16; wyrresto 12. 45.

II. Under the influence of preceding f, ea becomes a, æ: farmum I 21. 9 (2); fæmo 22. 8, &c. (4) (B. § 272).

III. Influence of following w (w-umlaut):

8. The groups *ēow* and *īow* as a rule appear as *ew* (eo, eu) and *iw* (io, iu), being perhaps only graphically shortened (S. § 156, anm. 5; B. § 255 ff.): fewer I 6. 2; feuer I 8. 1; feor 15. 38 (3); fewr I 8. 8 (beside feour I 9. 6; fewer I 3. 8 (3); feowerteno 1. 17 (3)); feortig I 16. 8; feuortig 4. 2 (beside feowertig 4. 2); trewufæst 25. 21 (beside getreowfæstnig I 4. 12); getreweð 27. 43; getreudon 27. 20; getriu 9. 22; hrewunise I 18. 7; hreunisse I 16. 9 (beside hreownise 27. 3, &c.); eoung I 22. 15; oncneu 16. 11 (beside oncnæw 13. 23; v. B. § 114, anm. 2); ædeuað 3. 7; æthewene I 1. 11 (v. § 29, III); cnewreso 24. 3; cneurise 1. 1, &c.; cnew 27. 29; cneorese 7. 11, &c.; cynreswu I 14. 3 (beside cynresuu I 16. 1); geblewun 7. 25; gebleuun 7. 27; treuna 3. 10; trewna I 17. 6; trewum (§ 29, II) I 6. 3; speua 27. 24; iwer 26. 21; iuer 23. 11; iurre 6. 27; iwh 26. 21; iuh 11. 9 (beside iowih 26. 32); iweres 10. 30; iure 18. 14; niua 26. 28; edniwung 19. 28; niveas I 3. 13; niw(e)cumenum 10. 14 mg.; hives I 4. 3; hiwe I 4. 2; ofhiudum 23. 27; ðiua 26. 69; ðeua 8. 9 (beside ðæwum 10. 8 mg.; v. § 29, II; cf. B. § 114, anm. 2); and the loanword: diwle 25. 41; diul 9. 33, &c. (beside diowl, dioble, &c.; v. § 22).

For the ew, eaw in cewlas 16. 9; ceulas 15. 37; ceawlas 14. 20 v. Lind.² § 32, anm. 2; Lea § 40; cf. B. § 258.

ēw for ēaw occurs in inscewungum I 4. 9; ungleu 15. 4.

For the ē in edes 26. 3 v. B. § 217.

§ 21. Influence of Preceding Palatals.

The initial palatal half-vowel *j* (always written *g* initially, except in proper names) does not in general cause diphthongization (S. § 137). It does unite with *o* to form *eo* in *geoc* 1. 20, &c. 3).

I. For WS. *gē* (ihr) appear: *gie* I 17. 6; *ge* 3. 9; *gē* 10. 28; *gee* 7. 12; *geē* 5. 13; for WS. *giet*: *get* 15. 16; *gett* 17. 5; for WS. *giu*, *geo*: *gee* I 18. 18; *gēe* I 10. 2; *geē* 12. 8; *ge* I 6. 15; *gē* 11. 9; for WS. *gēar*: *ger* 9. 20.

II. After *g'*, *c'* *æ* (= WGmc. *a*) sometimes becomes *ea* (*eæ*, *eae*). The examples are: *geat* 7. 13; *geatt* 16. 18; *f'geaf* 18. 32 (2); *ongææn* (?) 21. 1 (v. §§ 1, 17); *ageætt* 26. 7 (v. B. § 296); *ædgeadre* 13. 29; *ceafertum* 26. 58.

In the verb *geadriga*, Bülbring maintains that *u*-umlaut has taken place; v. *Angl. Beib.* IX, 76 ff.; *EB.* § 251; cf. *S.* § 160, *anm.* 1; *F.* § 21, II. The following forms occur: *geadrias* 13. 29, &c. (6); *gegeadrade* 19. 6, &c. (4); *geadrung* I 8. 17.

The forms with *æ* (*e*) are: *ongæt*, *be-*, 13. 19 (3); 12. 43; *togægnes* 28. 9, &c. (2) (beside *togēegnas* 27. 32); *gæt* 7. 13; *gaet* 7. 14; *ædgaedre* 9. 17; *ædgaedre* 14. 9; *cæfertun* 26. 69; *cefertun* 26. 3; v. §§ 1, 17.

Loanword: *ceastra* 5. 14, &c. (17); *cæstra* 21. 2; *cest'* 9. 25 (*B.* § 91, *anm.* 4).

III. After *sc'* the following vowel frequently becomes a diphthong. *æ* becomes *ea* in *sceal* 1. 23 (2) (beside *sceal* 10. 8 *mg.*); *morsceaðe* 26. 53; *sceafta* I 14. 9; *sceaccas* 10. 14 (beside *sceæcende* 11. 7; v. B. § 296).

WS. *scierpan* appears as *gescirped*, *un-*, 11. 18; 22. 11 (cf. *B.* § 508).

WGmc. *a* (= *o* before nasals) becomes *eo*: *sceomæs* I 3. 12; *ofsceomage* 11. 20; *sceonca* I 7. 17.

e becomes *i* in *gescildon* I 5. 9; and *y* in *gyld* I 20. 10.

u becomes *iu* after *scr* in: *gescriungon* 13. 6; *f'scriuncen* 12. 10 (*B.* § 302; *Lind.* § 61).

44 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

ā (= WGmc. ai) becomes ēa in *scean*, *eftge-*, I 2. 13; 17. 2; *sceadanne* 10. 35; *gesceaden* I 4. 6, &c. (2); *gescead* I 3. 5 (2); *bishead* I 9. 13; *hornsceaðe* 4. 5.

ō becomes ēo in *gsceoe* 3. 11.

Pal. influence may be at work in: *scyldrum* 23. 4; *shya* I 16. 6; *scuia* 4. 16; *of'scyade* 17. 5; v. S., *Decanatasp.* p. 27, note 3; Lind.² § 61.

ē (= Gmc. æ) appears as ēa in *sceacaras* I 5. 13; as ī in: *scip* I 20. 11, &c.; *scīpo* 25. 32, &c. (S. § 157, 2; B. § 154).

The diphthong eo appears regularly in *geonga*: *geongeð* 13. 24, &c.; *ofergeong* I 14. 6.

Unexplained: *beienda* 9. 20; v. § 30.

§ 22. Hiatus and Contraction.

I. Original ah + vowel becomes ēa, ā (aa, æ); v. S. §§ 111, 2; 116, 1. Examples are: *gefea* 15. 36; *ofslaa* 1. 6 mg.; *slæ*, *ge-*, 24. 49; 16. 21; *ea* 7. 25; *ofslah* 5. 21; *ðuah* 6. 17 (S. § 162, anm. 3); *ðwas* 15. 2; *geðreate* 17. 18.

a + w appears as ē in: *strē* 7. 3; *stre* 7. 14; *strees* I 17. 11.

II. Original eh + vowel appears as ēa, ē. Examples are: *gefeað* 18. 13; *gefeago* 16. 26; *geseað* 9. 30; *gesea* (10); *geseas* 13. 14; *eftatea* I 1. 6; *fleas* 23. 33; *geflea* 3. 7; *fleam* (?) 24. 20 (v. Cos.¹ § 59, 7); *swear* I 18. 2; *swer* 10. 35, &c. (2); *hwel* I 7. 18, &c. (2); *ece* 18. 9; *ēce* 25. 41; *hunteantigsiða* I 20. 17; *tenu* I 1. 1; *tea* 18. 24; *teum* I 9. 14 (beside *tewum* 25. 1); (v. F. § 22, II; Cos.¹ § 59, 4; B. § 557); *hera* I 6. 12; *heest* 20. 26; *nesta* 5. 43; *neesto* 19. 19 (S. § 166, 3, anm. 3; B. § 215).

Without contraction is *ehera* I 18. 20.

e + w appears as ēo, ēa, ē, and ēu (B. § 119): *treo* 12. 33; *tre* 7. 8; *treu* 3. 10; *trēu* I 19. 4; *treum* 21. 8; *cneum* 17. 4; *ðea*, *efne-*, I 21. 1; I 20. 14; *ðeas* I 20. 13; *ðeadomes* I 5. 15.

For the ea in *leas* 8. 4 (3) v. B. § 112.

III. *ih* + original i appears as ī in: *gesiistu* 7. 3 (2);

gesiist 7. 5; gsiist 27. 4; gesist I 10. 3; gesið 6. 4; gesis 5. 28; fias 24. 16 (S. §§ 110, anm. 1; 162, 2, anm. 5).

ih + gut. vowel appears as ie, ia in: getwiedon 28. 17; tuia 14. 10 (beside ahbutean I 18. 17; buta tua 3. 5 (4)); v. § 20; S. §§ 414, anm. 5; 114, 3; 166, anm. 4; cf. B. §§ 219, 223.

i + u appears as iu, io, ia, ea, eo in: hiu 9. 18; hio 9. 21; hia (15); ðiu (23) (beside ðyu 4. 13 mg. (2)); ðrea I 3. 14; ðreo 18. 20; ðriodogor 15. 32; hea 1. 25.

i + e appears as ie, e (ee) in: hie I 15. 2; hię 18. 19; sie I 1. 9; se 6. 18; sē 27. 23; się I 14. 7; see I 1. 11.

ī + gut. vowel appears as iu, eo, io, ea in: finge 10. 22; freo 17. 26; freodomes 5. 31; freond 11. 19; fiond 5. 25; fiend (as.) 5. 43; fiongdeldum 4. 24; teancuedendum (?) 5. 44 (v. Brown § 29, a); biom (3); beom (3); v. B. § 118 and anm.

There is interchange of ie, io, iu, ia in: gefriega 27. 49; and the loanword: diobul 4. 5; diuble I 18. 11; diable 4. 1.

For the ī in suire 18. 6 v. S. § 218; B. §§ 262, anm.; 529; cf. Lea § 52, 2; in diendra 21. 16 v. S. § 408, anm. 16. For a suggestion as to the origin of beafton 11. 17 v. Lind.² § 99, anm.

*ijō + da = eade 25. 25; geeode 9. 27; v. B. § 118; Kal. § 65 k; cf. S. § 114, anm. 1.

IV. The diphthongs in the following are the results of reduplication: feoll 18. 29; gefeallon 2. 11; geheald 19. 20; heoldon 27. 36; oncneawu 7. 23; oncneawn 14. 35; forleort 4. 13; forleorton 19. 27; ondreard 2. 22; ondreardon 9. 8.

V. ō + vowel appears as ō: foanne 26. 55; eftondfoende I 18. 15; onfoas 7. 8; onfoe 11. 14; hoanne 20. 19; ahoas 23. 34; ahoa 15. 20; doa 21. 24; dōm 20. 13; doað 23. 5; doenne I 21. 15 (S. § 110, anm. 1); woes 22. 18; gsceoe (§ 21, III) 3. 11; scoea (§ 17, IV) 10. 10. For holas 8. 20 v. § 4.

46 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

For the *æ* in *fǣs* 5. 18; *gæð* 5. 30 v. B. § 215.

VI. *u* + vowel remains unchanged in: *shya* I 6. 6 (with *i*-umlaut); *ofscyade* 17. 5; *scuia* 4. 16; *landbuendo* 21. 38.

VII. *y* + *i, e* appears as *y* in: *geðryde* I 3. 7; *geðryhton* I 3. 4.

VIII. Original *ai* (= OE. *ā*) + *u* (*w*) appears as *ā* (*aa*) in: *sna* 17. 2; *aa* 26. 11 (S. § 118).

IX. By the loss of *h*, *ȝ* appears in *ðyril* I 6. 1 (S. § 218, 1; B. § 529).

X. The coming together of unstressed and stressed vowels results in the elision of the former (S. § 110, anm. 4), as in: *binna* 23. 25, 26; *buta* 5. 20; I 8. 17; *nam* 3. 11; *nis* 12. 7; *næfre* 9. 33; *nec* (Lat. ?) 10. 24; after the loss of initial and medial consonants in: *nat* 24. 50; *nutu* 21. 27; *neuton* 21. 20; *nyston* I 21. 20; *nyta* 6. 3; *nyte* 9. 30; *neron* 12. 4; *nere* 1. 6 mg.; *nēre* 24. 22; *noht* 23. 16; *næniht* 17. 20; *nabbas* 6. 1; *næfde* 22. 25 (§ 23); *næbbend* 13. 5; *nalles* 7. 29, &c.; *naldes* 23. 37; *nellas* 7. 6 (beside *nwill* 15. 32; *nuillic* 21. 29); *ahbutean* I 8. 17; *booflic* I 5. 8 (B. § 455).

§ 23. Shifting of Quantity.

I. Final vowels in stressed, one-syllable words appear long in: *nū* 5. 5 (4); *gēe* I 10. 2 (4); *gē* 11. 9; *geē* 12. 8; *nō* 22. 17; *ðū* 27. 13.

II. Lengthening of one-syllable words ending in single consonant appears in: *hīs* 22. 5; *gerēc* 27. 24; and in the proclitic particles: *ōngelīc* 13. 44; *geōnduorde* 12. 48; *ūnbyed* 14. 13; *ūnhælo* 9. 35; *ūnhale* 14. 14; *ūnrōt* 19. 22; *ūnspoedge*, *ūnsynnige* 5. 3 mg.; *ūntry'mig* 9. 35; *ūntynde* 9. 30; *ūnðærf* 2. 6; *ūnwrigen* 10. 26.

III. Lengthening occurs before nasal + cons. in: *ēnde* 13. 40; *hōnd* 14. 31 (4); *hūnduelle* 13. 8; *lōnd* 3. 5 (8); *sprānc* 9. 26 mg.; *infānd* 12. 44; *gebīnde* 12. 29; *wīnd* 14. 30; *uīnde* 11. 7; *sōnd* I 17. 19; *strōng* 14. 30.

IV. Lengthening before *r* + cons. appears in: *wōrd* 26.

75 (3); brōrd 13. 26; gērd 11. 7; cōrn 13. 31; berērn 3. 12 (2); carcērn 14. 10.

V. Lengthening before l+cons. appears in: gesāld, a-, 4. 12 (7); 28. 18; göld 23. 17; ālde I 1. 2; āldum I 1. 9; āldo 16. 1; (h)aaldum 5. 21; ālle 24. 39 (S. § 124, anm. 2); āldrum 10. 21; mīldo 10. 16; gehæld 27. 65.

VI. Short vowels before single consonants in words of two or more syllables are seldom lengthened. The examples are: (arī)sās 11. 15; lōsač, gelōsas, gelōsiga 16. 25; gæfil 17. 25; græfe 21. 13 (§ 1).

VII. The other examples of lengthening are: næfde I 19. 14; gēade 13. 25; gēleafful 24. 45, probably scribal errors.

VIII. As examples of the shortening of long vowels and diphthongs, the following must be noted (v. B. §§ 337-49): æ in: enne 5. 18; leasse I. 3. 7; ē in: sella 12. 12; sellra 10. 31; gemitte 18. 28; ōē in: soeccenna I 1. 13; gebledsade 14. 19; gebledsad 23. 39 (F. § 23, VIII); ī in: ʒrittig 13. 8; awritte (inf.) I 9. 12; gebrucca (?) 6. 25 (F. § 23, VIII); the a in: latua 2. 6; v. § 45 for other possible examples.

B. THE VOWELS OF MEDIAL AND FINAL SYLLABLES

CHAPTER V. SUFFIXES, PREFIXES, COMPOUND WORDS, MEDIAL VOWELS.

§ 24. Suffixal Ablaut.

I. The neuter suffix -os, -es = OE. *r* (S. § 128, 1). The examples are: *dogor* 15. 32 (beside *doeg* 28. 1 &c.; v. S. §§ 288, anm. 1; 289, anm. 2); *ehera* I 18. 20; *sige* 12. 20; *puulsper* 11. 7; *cælfes* I 7. 9; *celfes* I 8. 5 (S. § 290, anm.); *beretun* 3. 12.

Later variations are *wuldor* 16. 27; *wuldur* 4. 8 (Kl., NStB. §§ 133, 141).

For the -er in *stæner* 13. 5 v. S. § 290, anm. 3; for -as in *acas* 3. 10 v. S. § 50, anm. 2; *Decanatsp.* p. 30.

II. Before *n* in the suffix -ono-, -eno- (past part. of st. vbs.). Traces of this e-grade are seen in: *unðuenum* 15. 20; *gescyfen* I 8. 11; *gecnoeden* 13. 33; *gewoerden* 11. 21. For *ahæfen* 23. 12; *geslaegen* I 19. 4 v. § 17; also S., *Decanatsp.* p. 23 ff. For such forms as *ahoen*, *ge-*, 27. 22, 23; 26. 2; *gefoen*, *on-*, 21. 39; 24. 40 v. S. §§ 378, anm. 2; 429, anm. 2.

Other variations are: *recune* 21. 19; *recone* 21. 2; *seofona* 15. 34; *hundseofuntig* I 20. 13; *seofunda* 22. 26; *seofonda* I 9. 5; *firinade* 15. 34; *agenlic* 25. 15; *aganlico* I 17. 12; *nigona* 18. 12; *becon* (§ 27) 16. 1; *becen* 24. 30; *tacon* (§ 27) 26. 48; *fetaceno* 24. 24; *wolcen* 17. 5; *cicceno* 23. 37; *ticceno* I 23. 3; *bisen* 13. 31; *bisin* I 19. 1 (B. § 362); *drihten* 8. 21 (beside *drihter* 8. 8).

SUFFIXES, PREFIXES, COMPOUND WORDS, Etc. 49

Beside *fæsten* I 7. 3 occurs *fæst'rn* I 16. 8; also always with *r*, *efern* 14. 15; *woestern* 4. 1 (v. F. p. 85).

-in occurs in the loanword *latinum* I 1. 12.

III. Before *l* in the suffix -olo-, -elo-. The examples are: *micel* 7. 27; *micil* 5. 19; *ðyrl* I 6. 1; *īdil* 12. 36 (B. § 362); *lytel* 5. 19; *œðel* 3. 5; *gæfel* I 21. 10; *gæfil* 17. 25; *symbel* 6. 5; *degelnisse* 6. 6; *degolnise* 6. 18; *cyrtel* 5. 40; *hriofol* 8. 3; *sauel* 6. 25; *seðel* 19. 28; *seatul* 23. 2; *hehseðil* 5. 34; *ofgeotole* 16. 5; *tungul* 2. 2; *ongul* 17. 27; *staðolfæst* 16. 18; *hioful* I 7. 9; *ebalsung* I 19. 4 (v. *Mém. de la Soc. Néophil.* p. 264); *ebolsung* 12. 31; *yfel* 12. 35; *waghrahel* (§ 27) 27. 51.

-els, -ils occur in: *gyrdilsum* 10. 9; *gyrdils* 3. 4; *recels* 2. 11 (KL., NStB. § 98).

Loanwords: *regula* I 3. 14; *regele* I 3. 15; *regolra* I 1. 1; *asal* 21. 2; *diobul* 4. 5; *diubol* I 18. 11; *ðæcille* 5. 15; *discipul* 27. 57; *apostol* I 6. 17; *scemel*, *fotsconol* 22. 44; *camele* I 21. 16.

IV. Before *r* in the suffix -oro-, -ero-. Examples are: *sundurlice* I 9. 9; *suindir* I 3. 7; *sundor* I 19. 9; *aldor* 26. 62; *aldur* I 19. 3; *huidr* 8. 19; *hwidir* I 7. 17 (B. § 362); *ðider* 2. 22; *fadores* 6. 13; *faderes* 7. 21; *fador* 20. 1; *fader* 4. 21; *ðunera* I 8. 3; *suner* (*grex*) 8. 30; *sumer* 24. 32; *sulfer* 10. 9; *feuor* I 19. 19; *fewer* I 2. 14; *foter* 13. 27; *wiðerweard* 14. 24; *wiðirworda* I 2. 12; *niðer* 2. 11; *wunder* I 15. 1; *wundara* I 6. 9; *morður* 19. 18; *morðor* 22. 7; *wæter* 14. 29 (S. § 243; KL., NStB. § 92); *niðer* 2. 11; *cæfertun* 26. 69; *unfegernis* (§ 27) 24. 15 mg.; *bitterlice* (§ 27) 26. 75; *lutorlice* (§ 27) I 8. 8.

The Idg. suffix -tro occurs in *foðer* 14. 20 (KL., NStB. § 93). To WS. *ceaster* corresponds *ceastra* 5. 14.

V. In the suffix -ig (-īg), -ag. These suffixes appear in Mt. as -ig, with one exception, *hefege* 11. 28, and this may be regarded, perhaps, as a scribal variation in view of the preceding and following *e*. There are traces of stem ablaut in forms like *monigo* 9. 37; *menigo* 9. 36. Other unlauded

50 VOWELS OF MEDIAL AND FINAL SYLLABLES

forms are: woerig I 4. 6; hinegrig 25. 35 (B. § 307); untrymmig 25. 36, &c.; syndrig 14. 13; woestig I 19. 19. In eftgemyndig 26. 75; scyldig 26. 26; efenmeti(g) 26. 26 (§ 42); synnig 19. 9, which are derived from umlauted substantives, it is not possible to conclude with regard to the character of the original suffix.

-ig>-ing occurs in cynig 2. 2; hunig 3. 4; v. B. § 561.

VI. In the suffix -od, -ed. The examples are: heafod I 19. 14; heafud 14. 11; heafut 21. 42; uutodlice 15. 20; uutodlice 1. 18 mg.; wutetlic I 6. 8; wuototlice 3. 1; hiorodes 20. 1; hiorades 10. 25; nacod 25. 36.

-að occurs in innað 12. 40; fostrað 3. 4; -ut in eofut 18. 25; -eð in: fræceðo 22. 6; erfeðo 26. 10; leigeðslæhtas (WS. -et) I 8. 3.

-it, -ed, -et occur in the loanwords: mynittre 22. 19; mynetra 21. 12; tramitum I 4. 9; trametas I 2. 10; æcced 27. 48.

VII. Nouns in -nis, -nes. The normal form is -nis(s), -nis(s)e (§ 45). The forms with -nessa, -nesse, -nes(s) are: cyðness I 14. 9; cyðnessa 27. 13; gelicnesa 22. 20; geliornesse 2. 22; geliornessa 21. 11; gesetnesa I 9. 2; gesetnessa I 14. 9; gewitnesse 26. 28; gewitneso 26. 60; licnesse 6. 27; licnessa I 21. 10; ongelicnes I 17. 7; setnes I 13. 9, &c. (7); slitnese 24. 15; witnesa 8. 4, &c. (9).

VIII. The suffix -ung occurs more frequently than -ing (for the spelling v. § 43; also Kl., NStB. § 159). Examples of the latter are: cāsering 17. 24; cepinc 22. 5; eftlesing 20. 28; ernineg I 14. 7, &c. (2); flouing 9. 20; bæcgling I 3. 10; inwritting I 4. 8; iorning 9. 20; losing 7. 13; f'emercinc (§ 43) I 9. 19.

-ling occurs in: derling 12. 18; bæcgling I 3. 10; heafodlinges 11. 16; -eng occurs in lydeng 25. 6; -ong in inwoenonga 13. 29. For -ong in efalsongas 12. 31 v. Mém. de la Soc. Neóphil. p. 246.

IX. -end occurs in ðusend I 19. 15; erendraca I 18. 17.

-unt, -ont occur in ðiofunta 15. 19; ðiofonto 19. 18.

SUFFIXES, PREFIXES, COMPOUND WORDS, Etc. 51.

X. Beside the variations classified above occur the following: *ærist* 10. 2; *ærest* I 4. 3; *æfist* 27. 18 (B. § 361); *cefestlice* 8. 31; *atih* 13. 27; *ata* 13. 38 (cf. B. § 362); *casseres* 17. 24; *casari* 22. 21; *monigfallocru* (comp.) 5. 37; *monigfulsumnise* 25. 19; *bogehte* 7. 14; *feðrihte* I 7. 17 (KL, NStB. § 218); *middangeard* 13. 38; *middengeardes* I 16. 13; *suiðor* 5. 20 (*suiður* J. 21. 15); *eaður* 9. 5; *eoður* 10. 15; *ælmessa* 6. 2; *allmissa* I 7. 6 (B. § 516); *medmaaste* 23. 45 (S. § 312, anm. 1); *f'mest* 21. 28; *clænust* I 6. 14; *tunuc* 27. 28; *cilic* 11. 21; *cursumbor* I 2. 11; *afulic* I 2. 11; *dearflicum* I 2. 2.

§ 25. Prefixes.

I. *ge-*, *gi-*. The normal form is *ge-*. In the following words *gi-* occurs: *gibohta* 27. 9; *gidyrstig* 22. 46; *gihata* 5. 33; *gihwerfde* I 2. 2, 3; *gimeneged* I 3. 9; *gimoeton* I 4. 7; *gimoetid* I 3. 9; *girihte* I 2. 13; *girihtad* I 2. 17; *girihtæ* I 2. 2; *giroefæ* 20. 8; *gisomnung* I 4. 6; *gilic* I 3. 12; *giboeta* I 2. 14. For *himong* I 18. 13 v. § 3.

gæ- occurs in *gæliornise* 28. 10; *gie-* in *gieeadon* 22. 5.

There is loss of the *e* in: *gbidd* 6. 6; *gleafo* 9. 22; *gsceoe* 3. 11; *gsiist* 27. 4; *gsealla* I 20. 9; *gcueada* 7. 22; *gdeglice* 6. 1; *gfulwas* 3. 11; *gfylnise* I 16. 14; *gybes* 5. 4 mg.; *gcumæ* 14. 28; *gðence* 18. 12; *gbær* I 6. 14; *gbedes* I 17. 7; *gfreten* 6. 19; *groefa* 22. 19 (2); *gsende* 25. 27; *gwēdon* 27. 28; *eftguuta* I 9. 17; and before a following vowel in: *geadon* 12. 14.

II. *be-*, *bi-*. The normal form is *be-*. *bi-* occurs with two verbs of motion, from which it is separated by a hyphen, thus preserving its adverbial character. These verbs are *inn-bigeates* I 9. 13; *bi-eode* 20. 30. The other instances in which *bi-* occurs are as follows: *bibeod* 26. 19; *bibycendu* 25. 9, &c. (2); *biboht* I 22. 5; *bif'e* 27. 29 (2); *bibyrgenne* 26. 12; *bibyrignisa* 27. 7; *bicymo* I 7. 2; *bilyrtet* 2. 16; *bihionda* 4. 25; *bigetna* I 19. 12, &c. (3);

52 VOWELS OF MEDIAL AND FINAL SYLLABLES

bihealdon I 6. 7, &c. (3); bishead I 9. 13; bihoflic I 14. 15.

bie- occurs in biegeten I 4. 7 (thus glossed by Cook, but not so printed in Skeat). bi- occurs in bitwih I 1. 2, &c. (13) beside betuih 11. 11, &c. (8); v. B. § 454. bo- occurs in bobode I 21. 12; bobodum 5. 19; booffic I 5. 8.

e has disappeared before an initial vowel in buta 5. 13, &c.; binna 23. 25.

The lengthened form bi- occurs in bispell 21. 45, &c.

Murray, NED., regards blinna as a syncopated form of bi- and C. T. **linnan*; Kl., PG. p. 390 gives Gmc. **að-linnan*; cf. Lind.² § 114. Examples are: blinnes 24. 12; geblann 14. 32.

III. for- and fore- are not as a rule interchanged, though there are a few instances where this occurs, as in: f'guulde 18. 25; f'egulde I 20. 15; f'beada 19. 14; forebeadas I 17. 3; foresætte 13. 31; f'sætt 13. 24; f'lioro 26. 32; f'eliorað 28. 7; foreade 14. 15; foreade 5. 18. Generally these words are not written out as in: foregeade 2. 2; forewide 4. 5, &c. (30); v. Lind. § 26, 1; Lea § 73, 3.

IV. æf-, of-. æf occurs in æfist 27. 18 (2), otherwise of always occurs (B. § 454).

V. æt-, ot-. Only æt- (æd-) occurs (§ 38). ed- occurs in eftedwidon 21. 42.

VI. ē (WS. æ) occurs in: erist 22. 28; espyngne I 2. 11; esuica 7. 5, &c.

VII. ond-, on-, un-. Examples are: (a) ondwilita I 7. 10; ondspurnas 5. 30; ondget 15. 16; ondsuere 2. 12; onduord' 27. 8. on- stands for ond- in onfenge I 9. 2; foreonfong I 1. 4; onfoed, &c., beside ondfoe I 18. 16; ondfoa I 21. 5; ondfoende 24. 40. (b) on-: ongeredon 27. 31; ongettes 16. 33; ongelic 13. 47; onsoc 26. 70; ondræda 28. 10.

a- occurs in aworden 28. 4; aworpen 14. 24, perhaps a weakened form of on-; o- in ofenge 17. 24; v. F. § 27, VII.

(c) un-: unbindes 16. 19; unbliðe 6. 23; unceaped 10. 8.

VIII. For tō occurs tom I 18. 19 (§ 33).

SUFFIXES, PREFIXES, COMPOUND WORDS, ETC. 53

IX. Beside *ðerh*, the usual form of the word, occurs *ðorh* 26. 24 (cf. B. § 454).

X. *in-* and *inn-* occur as in : *infinde* 7. 8; *innfoerde* 8. 5 (§ 45).

For (h)*ræfneð* 6. 24 v. PG. p. 426, § 156.

§ 26. Second Members of Compounds.

The root vowels of second members of compounds undergo modifications and changes as the result of slightness or lack of stress (S. § 43). Examples are:

ea-o: *ondward* I 5. 4; *geonduorde* 12. 48; *toward* 3. 11; *ūtaward* 23. 25; *wiðerworde* 4. 10 (beside *onduarde* 12. 39; *ondward* I 2. 15; *geondweardeð* 25. 40; *toueward* 11. 14; *towærd* 12. 32; *foruuard* I 10. 1).

æ-e: *berēr̃n* 3. 12; *berern* 6. 26; *carcēr̃n* 14. 10; *carcern* 25. 39; *gemotern* 27. 27.

i is weakened to *e* in: *etterest* 22. 23; otherwise always *erist*. *y* is weakened to *i* in *æfist* 27. 18 (B. § 376).

a and *o* appear in: *geneolacede*, *toge-*, 4. 3, 17; *to-geneolocedon* 4. 11; otherwise always *e* (cf. B. § 427).

Further changes have taken place in: *hlafard* (**hlaf-weard*) I 17. 20; *hlaferdes* 25. 18 (B. § 411); *eofut* (**ef-hat*) 18. 25; *ebalsas* (**ef-halsian*) 9. 3; *efolsade* 26. 65; *ebolsung*, *efalsongas* 12. 31; *ondeto* (**onhatjan*) 7. 23; *hiorodes* (**hiw-ræd*) 20. 1; *hiorades* 10. 25; *fræceðo* (**fra-cund*) 22. 6; *larwu* (**lār-ðeow*) 12. 38; *latua* (**lād-ðeow*) 2. 6; *wigbed* (**wih-beod*) 5. 23; *woruldes* (**wer-ald*); *worold* 13. 32; *æfist* (cf. S. § 43, anm. 4; B. § 101, anm. 3).

Original *i* has disappeared in: *ilca* 2. 8; *huele* 18. 1; *hūelc* 6. 27; *eghwelc* 3. 10; *eghule* 12. 31; *swelc* I 3. 3; *swælce* I 7. 8 (beside *swilce* I 18. 13).

i has disappeared in: *noht* 23. 16 (beside *nowiht* 10. 26, &c.); *tuelf* 10. 1; *twoelf* 19. 28, &c.

54 VOWELS OF MEDIAL AND FINAL SYLLABLES

§ 27. Changes of Final Sounds as Result of Apocope.

When a mute followed by a liquid or nasal becomes final, the liquid or nasal develops before itself a vowel (S. 138). Such an auxiliary vowel appears:

1. Before *r* in *finger* 23. 4; *wundor* I 15. 4; *wunder* I 15. 1; *wundara* I 6. 9; *aldor* 26. 62; *aldur* I 19. 3 (Kl., NStB. § 30); *bitterlice* 26. 75; *unfegernis* 24. 15 mg.; *hlutorlice* I. 8. 8.

2. Before *l* in: *husul* 12. 7; *tempel* 23. 17; *tempul* I 21. 3; *tungul* 2. 2; *seðel* 19. 28; *seatul* 23. 2; *hehseðil* 5. 34; *waghrasel* 27. 51.

3. Syllabic *n* remains usually unchanged after a short syllable, as in: *stefn* I 16. 7; *regn* 7. 25; *ðegn* 25. 30; *ðeignas* 8. 9. *e* occurs in *mægen* 11. 12 (v. Kal. § 73, ann. 3).

After a long syllable, an auxiliary vowel is generated before *n*, as in: *tacon* I 4. 7; *fetaceno* 24. 24 (S. § 129); *woepenmonn* 19. 4; *becon* 24. 3 (10); *becen*, &c. (4); *beceno* 24. 24 (S. § 129).

4. Syllabic *m* remains usually unchanged, as in *wæstm* 21. 19, &c., beside *wæstim* I 19. 4.

For vowel development between *lg*, *rg*, *rh* v. § 48.

§ 28. Syncope of Middle Vowels.

I. 'Every middle vowel of a trisyllabic word, when originally short, and not rendered long by position, is syncopeated after a long radical syllable.' Examples are:

1. Before *l*: *cyrtlas* 10. 10; *lytles* 6. 30; *lytlum* 5. 19; *englas* 4. 11; *deiglo* 13. 35; *gedegled* I 7. 8, &c. (4); *saules* 6. 25; *sawle* 12. 8; *midla* I 14. 15 (with syncope of *d*) *idlum* I 3. 4; *diowbla*, *diowlas* 9. 34, &c.

Exceptions are: *degelde* 13. 33; *gedeigeldes* 11. 25; *sauale* 22. 37; *lyttelra* I 1. 6.

2. Before *r*: *oðres* 5. 27, &c.; *sestre* 5. 15; *modres* 19. 12; *alra* I 6. 4; *dogrum* 26. 2; *aldre* 21. 19; *iurres* 6. 25; *iurne*

SUFFIXES, PREFIXES, COMPOUND WORDS, ETC. 55

5. 16; iure 18. 14, &c.; wuldre 6. 29; usra 20. 33; hungro 24. 7; broðres 7. 3; getimbro 16. 18.

Exceptions are: usera 23. 30; oðero 27. 61, &c.; oðera 5. 39 (8); oðerra I 8. 17; broðeres 18. 15; broðero 12. 46 (2); broðera 4. 18; iueres 10. 20; iuerræ 10. 29, &c.; fewer(o) I 3. 14; hyncgerende 25. 44; getimberde 7. 26 (2); v. B. §§ 436, 437.

3. Before n: facne 5. 8 mg.; drihtnes 3. 3; drihtne 11. 3; hædno 6. 32; hædnum 10. 18; wolcnum 24. 30; mædne 14. 11; netna I 7. 8; merne 6. 34; inflected participles in -en: gebundna 18. 18; forletne 16. 4; fletnum 13. 36; ðruncnum 24. 49; gewordne 11. 23; wordnum I 18. 18; geðreatne 20. 31; ablonegne 26. 8; ahongne 27. 44.

Exceptions are: gewordeno 4. 3; cicceno 23. 37 (B. § 434); fleteno 5. 32; gebundene 27. 2 (S. § 296, anm. 2).

4. Before d and ð: heafdes 10. 30; heafda 27. 39; wuraðo 3. 7; læððo 6. 24; gedælde, ðerhge-, 15. 35; I 22. 5; scyldrum 23. 4; frymðo 25. 34.

Exceptions are: genemnedo I 2. 12; efnegeceigede 15. 32.

5. Before g: witge 13. 57; gewitgedon 7. 22; halges 28. 19; eadge 5. 3; ængum 18. 12 (3); scyldgum 6. 12; ûnspoedge 5. 3 mg.; æcræftgum 12. 38; monigfaldge 5. 20.

Exceptions are: æcræftigo 12. 24; tungulcræftiga I 16. 3.

-ig has disappeared in bærsynnum I 14. 2.

II. 'A vowel long by position is usually protected against the operation of syncope.' Examples are:

Adjs. in -isc as menniscas I 17. 7.

Subs. in -en, -enne: byrgennes 27. 64; byrðenno 13. 30.

Subs. in -ere, -are: godspellere I 3. 6; recceras I 2. 11; lēaseras I 17. 15; legere 15. 7; fisceras 4. 18; boccer' I 2. 3; sedere 13. 18; fulluihtere 11. 11; bæstere 3. 1; beameres 9. 23; costere, cunnere 4. 3; doemeras 12. 27; drincere, ētere 11. 19; pinerum 18. 34; sceacaras I 5. 13; winbegera 21. 32 mg.; trahtere I 6. 7; furthermore, aefterra I 6. 7; gyrdilsum 10. 9; perhaps loccete 13. 35 (v. § 4).

56 VOWELS OF MEDIAL AND FINAL SYLLABLES

Superlative forms: *wyrresto* 12. 45; *leapestum* 5. 19.

Syncopated forms are: *mynittrum* 22. 19; *mynetrum* 25. 27; *licðrouras* 11. 5; *licðroures* 10. 8 (beside *licðrouer* (ns.) 8. 2; *licðrower* (as.) I 17. 19); *heistum* I 7. 15; *heist* 23. 11; *neista* I 21. 13; *nesta* 5. 43 (S. § 145); *stænna* 26. 7 (v. *Lea* § 79; *Lind*.² § 115, anm. 1).

III. After a short radical syllable, the middle vowel remains; however, there are some exceptions to this rule (S. § 144, a).

1. Before *l* syncope appears frequently (Kal. § 72, d): *miclo* 2. 10; *micles* 5. 35; *micle* 28. 8, &c.; *yfle* 7. 17; *yflo* 13. 48, &c.; *cuople* 8. 23; *eorðcryplas* 4. 24; *eorðcrypple* 9. 29; *staplas* 21. 12; *disciplum* 26. 40.

2. Before *r* syncope occurs in: *snotrum* 25. 8; *snotre* 7. 24; *wætrum* 8. 32; *wætra* 14. 28; *fadres* 5. 40 (6); *fadrum* I 14. 13.

3. Before *n* there is occasional syncope in the past participles of st. verbs: *acwoedni* 26. 30; *wiðercwædna* I 20. 4; *unðuenum* 15. 20; *unðweanum* I 19. 17; *begetna* 13. 46; *bigetna* I 19. 12 (2); *bigetne* I 3. 11; furthermore, *heofnas* 3. 16; *heofnum* 3. 17; *heafna* 5. 20, &c.; *styrnise* 8. 24.

4. Before *m* syncope occurs in *lætreste* 5. 26.

5. Before *ð* syncope occurs in *gesihða* 17. 9.

6. *a* has disappeared in: *hogfæstum*, *hogfullum* 11. 25.

7. In this connexion the treatment of words which have developed auxiliary vowels must be considered (S. § 148). If the radical syllable is long, the auxiliary vowel is lost when an inflexional ending is added, as in: *adla* 24. 8; *tacnas* I 9. 3; *maðmas* 12. 29; *nedles* 19. 24; *gebecnades* I 4. 10; *tungla* 16. 3; *sedlum* I 20. 20; *seatlas* 23. 6; *temple* 21. 12; *wæstmas* 7. 17.

Exceptions to this rule are: *becena* 16. 3; *beceno*, *f'etaceno* 24. 24; *wundara* I 6. 9; *tempele* 24. 1.

C. THE CONSONANTS

CHAPTER VI. THE SEMI-VOWELS

§ 29. w.

THE semi-vowel w is for the most part written w, though u is common, and instances of wu, uu, wo, uo, o, uw occur (v. § 20; B. § 463). For the runic letter, w is given in the text.

Examples of wu = w are: forwuard I 14. 5; wuriotto 26. 54; wurað 22. 7; fulwuande 28. 19; wuorðig 15. 4; giwude 20. 20; cynreswu I 14. 3; of uu: ðuuencgu 23. 5; laruua 17. 24; sauues 6. 26; of wo, uo, o: woeap 2. 8; uoeg 5. 25; suoeftnum 1. 20; coernæ 24. 41; coeð 8. 9; soestra 19. 29; v. § 20; Bülbring, Angl. Beib. X, 368; EB. § 463; cf. S. § 172; anm.; of uw: laruwa 26. 49.

wu = ū according to Lea § 80; F. § 29; wuðuto 23. 1 (9). May this not be scribal anticipation of w in the following syllable?

Initial w before u is sometimes omitted, as in: udu 3. 4; utuetlice I 8. 16; geundradon 15. 31.

v = w occurs in: avrat I 3. 7; vritt I 2. 15; avritti I 3. 4; niveas I 3. 13; givixla I 3. 1; vrittsæx I 2. 18; hives I 4. 3; ve I 2. 4 (2); unexplained: nevdę I 4. 3; lvgcna I 1. 8.

I. Initial w occurs:

1. Before all vowels: wærco 28. 4; wöp 13. 42; wiht I 8. 4; wer 1. 19; wuldor 16. 27.

2. In the combinations wr, wl: wrigen 6. 31; auritten 11. 10; wlenca 13. 22; wloeh 23. 5.

3. In the combinations *cw*, *hw*, *dw*, *tw*, *ðw*, *sw*: *cwoen* I 19. 6; *cweð* 21. 32; *hwa* 24. 45; *huit* 5. 36; *dwala* I 2. 8; *geduolade* 18. 12; *twoelf* 19. 28; *ðwas* 15. 2; *sua* 6. 30; *swicað* 24. 11.

The loss of initial *w* occurs in the negative forms of some verbs, as: *nat* 24. 50; *nyta* 6. 3; *nis* 12. 7; *nellas* 7. 6 (beside *nwill* 15. 32; *nuillic* 21. 29; also in: *hlaferde* 10. 24; *hu* 7. 4; *noht* 23. 16; *tun* 24. 41 (S. § 172, anm.).

II. Medial *w* occurs before all vowels, except *u* and Prim. OE. *i*, without change: *sceawað* I 1. 7; *sawel* 6. 25; *oncnawæð* I 2. 6; also after consonants: *fulwa* 3. 11; *gearrwas* I 17. 13.

Before *u* and *i*, *w* has disappeared, and, as a result, contraction often occurs:

1. Before *u*: *ea* 7. 25; *oncneawn* 14. 35; *ðrounges* I 22. 6. However, *u* is sometimes restored after analogy of the other forms, as in: *geseawun* I 6. 16; *ðrowungum* 10. 31; *geblewun* 7. 25; *trewum* I 6. 3; *ðæwum* 10. 8 mg.

2. Before *i*: *æ* 7. 12; *sæ* 14. 22; *gerelum* 11. 18; *smirinis* 26. 12; *eftawælte* 28. 2; *gegeredon*, on-, 27. 31.

The *w* in: *genehuas* 19. 5; *gehnehuade* 10. 7 is not clear; v. B. § 465, anm.

III. Originally *w* did not stand as final.

1. After a short vowel it is vocalized, and contraction then takes place, as in: *stre* 7. 3; *strē* 7. 14; *tre* 7. 18; *trea* 12. 33; *ðea* I 21. 1; *laruu* 12. 38 and *latuu* I 6. 13 must be included here, if *uu* = *ū*; v. F. § 29, III. Such forms as *cnew*, 27. 29, &c.; *treu* 3. 10 also occur, after analogy of the inflected forms with medial *w*. *w* is also vocalized in *hiorodæs* 18. 27 (S. § 43, anm. 4).

2. After a consonant it is vocalized to syllabic *w*, *o*: *georo* 26. 41; *gearua* 24. 44; *mealo* 13. 33.

3. After long vowels and diphthongs *w* disappears: *aa* 26. 11; *sna* 17. 2; *sædeadon* 24. 1; but, after the analogy of the inflected forms, it is restored, especially in the interior of a word when there is syncope of a middle

vowel, as in: sawle 12. 18; ungleu 15. 4; oncnæw 13. 23; oncneawu 7. 23; seawu 25. 26; hreownise 27. 3.

For ædeaude 17. 3; ædeawde 9. 33, &c. v. F. pp. 46-47, who sums up the difficulties involved in this word without throwing any new light on the matter.

Common Teutonic ww (Got. ggw) forms with the preceding originally short vowel a diphthong in these words: aheawa 27. 60; aheawun 23. 53; getriowue 9. 2; getreow-fæstnig I 4. 12; v. B. § 457.

Inorganic w appears in smeawdon (**smauxōjan*; B. § 458) 16. 7; smeawunga 9. 4, &c. (4) (beside smeaunga 15. 19; scearpsmeung I 14. 1). This appearance of w is probably due to the analogy of other words, with w in the stem, like gearwung, sceawung. From the substantive forms it may easily have made its way to those of the verb.

w has been omitted in: f'hon 16. 11; hona 15. 33; geondearde 16. 16; gecomæ I 6. 17; coðas 17. 20; ymb-hurfon 23. 15; ymbhyrft I 1. 2; eghulc (?) 12. 31; and in hoenne 24. 3, unless it should be classed with the words in § 20.

For tyggum 13. 32 v. § 17, III.

w has disappeared in geðreate 17. 18.

w has been inserted by the scribe in: wyflo 21. 41; freweð I 19. 3; gewoehtat 23. 14; gewunna 26. 53; gewond(worde) (scribal anticipation) 22. 1, &c. (2) (v. § 23); wūtmestum 25. 30; wytmosto 8. 12; tewum (decem) 25. 1; wunwæstma (scribal anticipation); s^uona (?) 2. 15.

w is retained in: ceawlas 14. 20; cewlas 16. 9 but lost in edes; v. B. § 217; Lind². § 32, anm. 2.

For the groups ēow, īow and the manner of writing them v. § 20. For huæstredon 20. 11 v. § 17, V.

Unexplained: hwastana I 20. 15; gewrynded 7. 25.

§ 30. j.

I. Initial j is expressed by i only in proper names (S. § 175, 1): ioseph 1. 19; iones 16. 4; iudeas 3. 5; other-

wise it is written *g* as in: *gee* (pron.) 7. 12; *ger* 9. 20; *geoc* 11. 29; *gife* 6. 22.

II. Medial *j* between vowels is preserved in: *cægum* I 20. 4; *caegas* 16. 19; *gefrigeð* 27. 43; *boege* 15. 14; *twoege* 26. 60; *gefriega* 27. 49; *ceigeð* I 16. 10, &c. (S. § 176). Usually it disappears as in: *freond* 11. 19; *freo* 17. 26; *eade* 9. 7; *ece* 18. 8, v. B. § 458, a, and *anm*.

After a short vowel + *r*, *f*, it is represented by *g* in: *hergum* I 6. 19; *hergas* 8. 18; (h)*lifgiende* 26. 63.

Medial *j* has disappeared after a long closed syllable. Examples are found in the inflexion of the wk. vbs. Cl. I, and in the *jo/ja*-stems.

III. Final *j* is seldom. The examples are: *gefrig* 6. 13; *heg* 6. 30; *ceig* 20. 8. For -*ig* of wk. vbs. v. S. § 175, *anm*.

beienda 9. 20 is not clear to me; v. S., *Decanatsp.* p. 35; *Bülbring*, *Angl. Beib.* IX, 99; *EB.* § 249.

CHAPTER VII. LIQUIDS AND NASALS

§ 31. *r*.

I. *r* is frequent in all positions: *lar* 22. 23; *reaf* 22. 12; *worold* 13. 49; *stearm* 16. 3; *bratt* 5. 4; *stre* 7. 14. It is seldom doubled; *cearro* 12. 44; *feorra* 26. 58; *afirres* 7. 23; *stearres* 2. 7; *torr* 21. 33; *farras* 22. 4; v. also § 45.

II. Medial *r* undergoes metathesis:

1. Where *r* originally preceded a vowel followed by *nn*- or *s*- combinations (S. § 179): *arn* 28. 9; *iornende* 27. 48; *bernas* 5. 15; *bernenne* 13. 30; *burna* I 2. 10; *byrn* 20. 12; *gers* 6. 30; *dærstum* 16. 6; *gedærsted* 13. 33; *geðurscon* 21. 35; *toborsten* 27. 51; (ber)*jern* 6. 26; furthermore in *awuridge* 27. 5; *ðirde* 27. 64; *tinterge* 5. 22.

For *forma* and *frum* v. S. § 179, 1.

2. The converse takes place in *frohtende* 8. 26; *frohtendum* I 18. 5.

III. *r* (*rr*) corresponds to Gmc. *z* in: *gecuron* 13. 48; *gecoren* 20. 16 (with grammatical change); *eare* 10. 27; *mara* 12. 6; *geheras* I 19. 18; to *rd* in *reord* 26. 73; to *zn* in (*ber*)*ern* 6. 26; to *rz* in *merras* 22. 29.

r has disappeared in: *endebrednis* I 2. 16; *gevixla* I 3. 1; in the comparative *ældra*: *āldo* 16. 1; *aldum* I 2. 4; *aeldomenn* 21. 45; *ðafo* (*pauperes*) 26. 11; *fade* (*pater*) 6. 4 (2).

There is assimilation of *lr* to *ll* in *sella* 12. 12 (beside *sellra* 10. 31); of *sr* to *ss* in *læssa* 11. 11; and *sr* > *ss* is simplified to *s* in *wyrs* 9. 16.

r has been inserted in *efern* 14. 15; *woestern* 4. 1; *fæst'rn* I 16. 8 (v. *Lea* § 86; *F.* § 31).

Between *r* and *f* *o* is inserted in *ðorofra* 26. 17 (§ 48).

§ 32. 1.

l in all positions occurs commonly, and is often geminated. Examples are: *lytel* 5. 19; *tungela* 16. 3; *halsa* 26. 63; *slepe* 1. 24; *flod* 24. 39; *wille* 26. 39; *sellra* 10. 31; *allen* 20. 6; *selle* 5. 31; v. also § 45.

locce 13. 35 is obscure, unless there has been change of *r* and *l* (v. § 4).

nl > *ll* occurs in *ællef* I 22. 9, &c.

Metathesis of *l* occurs in: *fetelsum* 25. 4; *gyrdils* 3. 4; *recels* 2. 11.

For the *l* in *fiholes* v. *Lea* § 87; in *ðrael* 24. 48 v. *Björkman*, *Scand. Loan-Words* in *ME.* p. 19.

Unexplained: *lvgena* I 1. 8.

§ 33. m.

m stands for the labial nasal, and is frequent in all positions: *færmo* 22. 8; *longsum* I 5. 7; *meg* 20. 13; *wæstmum* 7. 16.

Gemination occurs in *hwommas* I 6. 3; *huommum* 6. 5; and is simplified in *unawoemdo* 19. 12; *m* is doubled by the scribe in *amm* 8. 9; v. § 45.

m has disappeared before the voiceless spirant f in *fifo* 25. 3; *fifta* I 3. 16; and has been omitted by the scribe in *wisdo* 11. 19.

m occurs for n in *ceafertum* 26. 58; and n for m in: *ðen* 28. 14; *allen* 20. 6; m has been inserted by the scribe in *tom* I 18. 19.

§ 34. n.

I. n as dental nasal occurs in: *nacod* 25. 36; *ongunne* 14. 30; *sendas* 7. 6; *cuen* 12. 42.

n is geminated in: *henne* 23. 37; *cynn* 3. 7; v. § 45.

II. n as guttural nasal occurs in: *singe* 26. 34; *tungul* 2. 2; *gesprang* I 7. 5; long 8. 30; v. *Kal.* § 98 a.

III. Loss of n before voiceless spirants and Pre-Gmc. h occurs in: *toð* 5. 38; *teða* 8. 12; *oðer* 2. 12; *soð* I 2. 7; *husul* 12. 7; *muð* 12. 34; *cuðe* 1. 25; *cuð*, *cyðic* 26. 73; in the unstressed syllable (*fræ*)*ceðo* 22. 6 (S. § 186, *anm.* 3; PG. p. 391, § 86); in: *ūs* 6. 11; *usic* 8. 25; *swiðe* 11. 20; *uðuta* 7. 29; *pisa* 23. 4; *grist*(*bittung*) 13. 42; *pislice* 13. 15; *geoehton* 5. 12; *æfist* 27. 18 (S. *ibid.*); *brohte* 17. 16; *ðohte* 1. 20; *stið* 25. 4; *-nise* 19. 8; *yðum* 8. 24.

There is loss of n between consonants in *genemde* I 16. 3.

nl becomes ll in *ællef* I 22. 9; *ællefta* 20. 6, 9.

mn appears as fn in *efne* (*hymnus*) 26. 30; cf. S. § 193, 2.

IV. Loss of final n is a characteristic of North. and occurs in: 1. weak nouns: *hearta* 5. 28; *sunna* 5. 45.

2. inf. and pret. opt. pl.: *sprecca* 10. 20; *beara* 3. 11; *genomo* 22. 15; *woere* 11. 23; *nere* I 17. 8.

3. adverbs: *binna* 23. 25; *ufa* 4. 6; *uta* 26. 29; *buta* 5. 20; *beienda* 9. 20; *hwona* 13. 56, &c.

Final n has been lost in: *sefo* I 20. 13, &c.; *eftso* 4. 7; *aro* 6. 26 (4); *wero* I 8. 6; *f'ðo* 5. 19 (2); *gesege* (pp.) I 6. 12; and medially in: *gefragade* 2. 16; *gefraigende* I 20. 3; *ondspyre* 17. 27, &c. (2); *untuende* (*aperta*) 27. 52.

cynig 2. 2, &c. (24) occurs beside *cyninga* 11. 8, &c. (10); v. B. §§ 307, 561.

The preposition *on* is shortened to *a* (§ 25).

n for *m* appears in *fotsconol* 22. 24; *allen* (ds.) 20. 6, both scribal errors.

n is due to scribal error in: *onfne* 10. 14 mg.

Unexplained: *nęvde* I 4. 3.

CHAPTER VIII. LABIALS

§ 35. p.

I. Initial *p* occurs in: *pricle* 5. 18; *plægde* 11. 7; and in the following loanwords: *papa* I 4. 12; *penning* 20. 2; *petrus* I 20. 5; *pinerum* 18. 34; *pinenne* 8. 29; *pinn* I 2. 18; *pisa* 23. 4; *pislice* 13. 15; *plontade*, *plontunc* 15. 13; *port* 7. 14; *preo* | I 10. 8 mg.; *pvnderv'* I 2. 3; *plæcena* 6. 5; and the compound: *heafudponnes* 27. 33; *puul*(sper) 11. 7 (§ 5).

II. Medial and final *p* occur frequently: *gespilles* 6. 20; *huelpas* 15. 27; *hearpas* I 8. 2; *scip* 12. 12; *wop* 8. 12. Loanwords: *apostol* I 6. 17; *discipul* 27. 57; *senepes* 13. 31; *papa* I 4. 12; *biscopa* 2. 4, &c.

b occurs for *p* in *forebiscob* l. 18 mg.; *p* corresponds to Latin *ph* in *iocsep* l. 24. Original *p+t* = *ft*: *sceafta* I 14. 9.

p has disappeared in: *salmes* I 21. 14.

For *pp* v. § 45.

Unexplained: *gefræppedon* 12. 10; *fræppigdon* 21. 37; v. *Lea* pp. 68, 123; NED. 'frap.'

§ 36. b.

The voiced labial stop *b* occurs initially, and medially with gemination, and finally in the combination *mb*: *boc* 5. 31; *breng* 8. 4; *nabbas* 6. 1; *sibb* 10. 13; *dumb* 12. 22; *lomb* I 8. 2; *womb* 15. 17; *ymbcerr* l. 11; v. also § 45.

Inorganic *b* inserted between *m* and *r* occurs regularly in *timbrende* 21. 42, &c.

Final *b* in *ymb* remains with one exception, *ymsaldon*

27. 28 (S. § 190, anm.); b has been omitted by the scribe in wom 12. 40; b in nabfde I 19. 14 is due to scribal error, unless this be an attempt to etymologize!

Unexplained: baeligniso 20. 13.

§ 37. f.

The letter f is used as the sign both of the voiceless and voiced labio-dental spirant.

I. Voiceless f: flesc 16. 17; fiond 5. 25; sceafra I 14. 9; fif I 19. 15.

II. Voiced f: uulfes 17. 15; fifo 25. 3 where f corresponds to a Gmc. f; and in: wifa 19. 8; erfeðo 26. 10; hlaferd 9. 38; ofer 2. 9, where f corresponds to Gmc. b (S. § 192, 2).

The letter b, where WS. has f, occurs in: dioble 6. 24; feberadlum 8. 15; ebolsung 12. 31 (beside efolsungas 26. 65).

f doubled by a following j gives bb: gehebbes 12. 11.

f appears in proper names for ph: iosep 1. 24.

f has disappeared in ðorleasa 25. 30 (B. § 533, g).

Unexplained: forf 19. 21.

CHAPTER IX. DENTALS

§ 38. t.

The voiceless dental stop t is common in all positions: til 26. 31; writ I 2. 14; mæhto 28. 18; lustes 5. 32; trymes 17. 27; twoelf, 19. 28. Geminated t occurs in: settas 5. 15; sittende 20. 30; doubled by the scribe in wuritta I 1. 2; ðreattas 15. 30; v. § 45.

Original t+r = ttr in: bitterlice 26. 75 (S. § 228); simplified in: lutorlice I 8. 8; snotre 7. 24.

WS. tl appears as tl, tul, dl, ðel, ðil in: seatla 19. 28 (3); seatul 23. 2; sedlum I 20. 20 (3); seðel 19. 28 (3); hehseðil 5. 34 (S. § 196, 2); v. also § 40.

d varies with t, td in: *ædeawe* 13. 25, &c. (19) (beside *æteawes* I 9. 19, &c. (9)); *ædgeadre* 13. 29, &c. (3) (beside *ætgeadre* I 1. 6); *ætdeaude* 1. 2, &c. (3). Furthermore d, td, dt, d(d), ð instead of t occur in: *geðreadade* 8. 26; *ðreaddende* I 17. 4; *ðrēad* 26. 47 (2); *eftedwidon* 21. 42; *tit* I 5. 4; *ðit* 8. 13; *sexdig* 13. 23, &c. (2); *heafut* 21. 42; *huætd* 8. 29, &c. (3); *huædd* 19. 20; *eftgebōedte* I 18. 5; v. also §§ 39, 40.

WS. *legetsleht* appears as *leigeðslahtas* I 8. 3.

t has disappeared in: *soðfæsnisse* 3. 15 (B. § 533. a); *gidyrsgindum* I 2. 2; *wæsdæl* 24. 27; *gaas* I 7. 17; *maas* 23. 11 (the last two, scribal errors).

d in *gefæsdon* 9. 15 is exceptional; cf. S. § 405, ann. 10.

Lat. t appears as d in *æcced* 27. 48; and as c in *plæcena* 6. 5 (S. § 205, ann. 1).

Unexplained: *hwastana* I 20. 15; *toge* 5. 9 mg.

§ 39. d.

The voiced dental stop d occurs frequently in all positions: *beada* 28. 8; *dead* 2. 19; *driht* 8. 6; *eftcerrde* 2. 12; *dwala* I 3. 12; geminated in: *bidde* 26. 36; *biwoedded* 1. 18; doubled by scribe in: *boddages* 11. 5; v. § 45.

ld corresponds to Got. ld in: *caldes* 10. 42; *hald* 19. 17; *hehstalde* 25. 7; *gold* 2. 11; for ld = Got. lp v. § 40.

ldl appears as ll in: *tuufallice* I 16. 7; *monigfallice* I 6. 13; *monigfallocru* 5. 37; *seofofallice* I 19. 7.

After voiceless consonants d becomes t in the pret. of the wk. vbs. Cl. I, as in: *gesette* (13); *tonuicte* I 8. 15; *ecgeecte* I 19. 10; *gemoette* 20. 6; *geboeta* 4. 24. An exception to this rule occurs in: *geslepde* 8. 24. Furthermore, d remains before and after a voiceless consonant in: *gebledsade* 14. 19; *mildheortnisse* 9. 13; *gidsunges* 6. 24 mg.; *gescrencde* 13. 6; *genealecde* 8. 19; but has disappeared in *milsia* I 20. 14; *milsades* 18. 33.

t for d is written in: heafut 21. 42; gloetas I 7. 18; heartlice I 9. 11; lāt 15. 14; wuotetlice 3. 11, &c.; also in the pret. and past part. of wk. vbs., as in: gesendet 23. 37; gewoehtat 23. 34; gelaðat 21. 11; gesetet I 9. 11; bilyrtet 2. 16; getrahtet 1. 23; geboetat, eftge-, I 9. 11; I 2. 2, &c.; geembihtatun I 5. 3; gecunnaete I 5. 2. -¹_v

td for d occurs in metdmaasta 23. 45 mg.

ð for d is written in: ðeglihe 24. 3; ðruncnende I 19. 16; ðringe 25. 37; ðruncnum 24. 49; ðærste 13. 33; ðærstes I. 20. 2; cueðenðo 21. 15; ðoes 24. 48; ðyðe 25. 5; ðepeð 26. 23; ðiowl 13. 19; cueðon (pret.) 15. 1; cueðon 12. 38; gegearwað (pp.) 25. 34; toſceaða 19. 6; tið 9. 22 (2); reða I 1. 8; also in the proper names: dauīð I 21. 14; dauīðes 9. 27, &c.; beðſaiða 11. 21; heroðes 2. 7, &c.; iuðas 26. 14 (2); zebeðies 10. 2; v. also §§ 38, 40.

d has disappeared in: unſeſuntig I 2. 4, &c. (2); hronſparnas 10. 29; monigſulſumnise 25. 19, in which three cons. come together; and has been omitted by the scribe in: beheal 14. 19; hælen 4. 10 (2); cueðen 13. 35.

After a cons. + d, t, the d is lost, as in: ðyrste 25. 42; geſæſte 4. 2; geſcildon I 5. 9; geræſte I 6. 14; geræſtun 9. 10; geoehton 5. 12; also in the proclitic ond (S. § 198, anm. 2).

d + t is simplified to t in hunteantigſiða I 20. 17; feltun 15. 17.

A parasitic d after l occurs in aſalda 18. 6 (Lea § 96, 4).

For WS. lædin occurs latines I 2. 18, &c.

d stands in grammatical change with ð (§ 47).

§ 40. ð.

The dental spirant is as a rule denoted by ð, which occurs in all positions, as in: cyðað 26. 62; ðu 27. 13; ðræl 24. 48; worðe 5. 20; geminated in: ſiðða I 9. 12; oððe 17. 25; v. § 45.

In proper names *ð* is sometimes written for *th*: *beðsaida* 11. 21; *scarioð* 26. 14; *natzareðes* 4. 13.

þ is used in the abbreviation *þ* to denote *ðæt* I 7. 2, &c.; also in: *þte* 1. 29, &c.; *þte* 26. 29.

th for *ð* occurs in: *threatta* 8. 18; *inthing* I 6. 5.

Original *lp* and original *pl* after a long vowel become *ld*, *dl*: *gold* 2. 11; *fel(d)tun* 15. 17; *wilde* 13. 27; *wuldor* 16. 27; *adla* 28. 4; *nedles* 19. 24; *widlas* 12. 5; also in the short-syllable word: *sedlum* I 20. 20; *seatla* 19. 28.

tp, *dp* become *tt*, which is simplified after consonants, as in: *ðætte* 11. 23; *mæhtu* 5. 36; *wiltu* 26. 17; also in *latuas* 15. 14, &c. (if < **lād-ðeow*).

ð + *ð* = *ðð* in: *læððo* 6. 24 (beside *læðo* 5. 43 (2)); *læððo* 20. 13; *wuraðo* 3. 7); *miððon* 13. 21; *miððy* (120).

s + *ð* becomes *st*, as in: *gesiistu* 7. 3 (2); *cuiðestu* 7. 9; *cueðestu* 7. 4; *ofgæstu* 5. 26.

ð + *d* remains unchanged, as in: *wuræðde* 18. 34; *clæðdon* 25. 36; *f'cyðde* I 21. 12.

ðð = *hð* in *mohða* 6. 19 (S. § 199, anm. 2).

ð corresponds to WS. *d* in: *hraðe* 8. 16; *hræðe* 13. 20 (beside *hrædlíce* 8. 32); *hundrað* 18. 12, &c. (8) (beside *hundrades* I 19. 9; v. Björkman, Scand. Loan-Words in ME. p. 163); *mið* I 1. 3 (beside *mid* 26. 72; cf. also *miððy* above); and to WS. *t* in *leigeðslahtas* I 8. 3.

d is occasionally written for *ð*, as in: *hædno* 6. 32, &c. (5) (beside *hæðna* 20. 25, &c. (3)); *sodlice* 5. 22; *sod* I 17. 3; *hæled* I 20. 7; *cuedo* 17. 20; *cuedes* 21. 21; *forecwood-ende* I 6. 9; *gcueada* 7. 22; *teancuedendum* 5. 44; *ofswided* I 16. 8; *gewordade* 9. 18; *bidencanne* I 21. 20; *daem* 5. 37; *dec* 21. 19; *hæled* (3 sg.) I 20. 7; *ð* changes with *t* in *intinge* I 1. 10, &c. (2) (beside *inðing* 19. 10, &c. (5)); *trinise* I 16. 7 (beside *ðrinise* Mk. I 2. 9); v. also §§ 38, 39.

Inorganic *ð* appears in *hið* (np.) 22. 19.

In *larua* 8. 19 (if < **lār-ðeow*) *ð* has disappeared.

ð stands in grammatical change with *d* (§ 47).

§ 41. s.

s appears frequently in all positions: *lysnas* 13. 18; *scenc* 10. 42; *ricsað* 20. 25; *sex* 17. 1; *losing* 7. 13; geminated in: *ællmessa* 6. 4; *cyssende* 26. 48; v. § 45.

rs is assimilated to rr in *wyrresto* 12. 45; and sr to ss in *ðassa* 25. 45 mg. For *ðassum* 10. 42; *ðasum* 18. 6 v. Paul, *Beit.* VI, 64.

ðc is written for st in: *bæðcere* I 16. 5 (v. § 1; cf. B. § 521); c for s in: *bræcce* 17. 15; *bræcceic* (?) I 20. 7; *ceatlas* 21. 12; ð for s in *ðeðe* 3. 3 (5) (S. § 337, anm. 4); sh and sch for sc in: *shya* I 6. 6; *schyldo* I 17. 12; *bishead* I 9. 13 (showing the palatal character of sc; v. PG. p. 934 ff.; Dieter, p. 253).

s occurs for v in *lesing* I 6. 4; and for r in *ures* 6. 9.

s has been omitted by the scribe in: *f'egden* I 9. 2; *oflae* 10. 28.

The fricative ts is denoted by z, tz in the proper names: *zacharies* 23. 35; *zebeðeos* 4. 21 (beside *sebedæis* I 20. 20); *nazaresca* 2. 23; *natzareðes* 4. 13; *chorazaim* 11. 21; *belzebub* 12. 24; *zabulones* 4. 13; *gezemani* 26. 36.

s stands in grammatical change with r (§ 47).

CHAPTER X. VELARS AND PALATALS

§ 42. c.

Velar and palatal voiceless c occurs frequently in all positions: *carr* 7. 24; *culfre* 3. 16; *cicceno* 23. 37; *cepe* 13. 45; *caegas* 16. 19; *cyrtlas* 10. 10; *blæc* 5. 36; *scenc* 10. 42; *ærce* 24. 38; *hæcla* 5. 40; *cweð* 21. 31; *cræft* 25. 24; *cnæht* 2. 9; *fisc* 7. 10; *ceig* 20. 8; geminated in: *wæccas* 24. 42; doubled by scribe in: *wæcc* 12. 20; *gebrucca* 6. 25; v. § 45.

h for final c occurs in: *ah* I 17. 18 (49) (beside *ac* 16. 13); *ih* 26. 22; *meh* 8. 21 (33); *usih* 8. 29; *ðeh* 4. 6; *rehtlih* 19.

3; iuh 11. 9; iwh 26. 21; iwuh 26. 55; iuuh 22. 31; iwih 28. 7; iowih 26. 32; iowh 26. 11; for medial *c* in mihil 4. 16 v. B. § 567. *ch* and *g* for *c* occur in: ich I 1. 9; mech I 1. 1; usich 6. 13; carchern 25. 36; michelo 8. 24; michil 10. 42 (2); huulig 8. 27; deiglige I 17. 6; hygdiglige 19. 12; ūsig 15. 23; channanesca 15. 22. Before *t*, *c* becomes *h* in lehtunum 23. 23 mg.

ch (= Lat. *ch*, = *k*) occurs in chorazaim 11. 21; hiericho 20. 20; hesichio I 2. 11 (Brown, Pt. II, p. 32).

In the combination *nc*, *g* and *gc* occur for *c*, as in: wlong 27. 57 (B. § 489); gescriungon 13. 6; dringe (sb.) 10. 42, &c. (2); dringes 11. 19, &c. (4); ðengcas 9. 4; tostengeid 26. 31; v. Bülbring, Angl. Beib. IX, 75-76; cf. § 43.

Palatalization is indicated by the writing of *cg* for *c* after a short vowel (Bülbring, *ibid.*; EB. § 495, *anm.* 2), as in: bæcgling I 3. 10; (ge)bræcg 26. 26; ticgenum 25. 32.

cs instead of *x* occurs in: rices 2. 6, &c. (2); and *c* for *s* in ceatlas 21. 12. For the *c* in plæcena 6. 5 v. § 38.

Inorganic *c* occurs in cæsetra 21. 2.

c is omitted in grecis I 2. 1; crecis I 3. 2.

For *sc* v. § 41.

§ 43. *g*.

g occurs commonly in all positions. Examples are: halga 27. 52; gemo 8. 7; hrægle 27. 28; græfe 21. 13; hogo 25. 9; hunig 3. 4; gedrugde 21. 20; gælso 13. 22; giwas 20. 22.

Geminated *g* is written *g*, *c*, *cg*, *gc*, *cc*, *gg*, as in: bycganne 25. 10; hryegas 13. 7; hrygum 13. 7 (beside hryum 7. 16); hry^{ic} I 17. 18; f'hycga 23. 23; forhycganne I 20. 11; wecg I 20. 9; sæcgas, *eft.*, 28. 10; 2. 8; sægca 28. 8; sægcas 16. 15; byccað 14. 15; bibyccenda I 21. 3; liccende 9. 2; wiðsæcces 26. 34; v. Hempl Angl. XXII, 375 ff. for the significance of the manner of writing.

g is doubled by the scribe in tuigge 24. 32, &c.; v. § 45.

For byrig, burig, burug, gebirigde, bibyrignissa, fylegdon v. § 48.

Final *g* after a long guttural vowel passes into *h* in *noh* 25. 9; *genoh* 10. 25; after a long palatal vowel, in *hehstald* 1. 23 (cf. F. p. 55); after a short vowel in unstressed syllables in: *sextih* 13. 23; *sexdeih* 13. 8; *ðrittih* 26. 15, &c. (4); *bærsminniho* 9. 12; v. B. § 556.

The combination *gh, hg* occurs for *g* in: *woestihg* 14. 15; *onwrihnise* I 7. 4 (cf. Skeat's text); v. S. § 214, anm. 5.

According to S. § 392, 2 the *h* in *ðuoh* 27. 24 is to be judged by S. § 214, anm. 1; yet cf. F. p. 55.

Medial *g* is lost, and lengthening is the result in: *meiden* 9. 24; *maiden* 9. 25, &c. (2); *mædne* 14. 11; *mæden* I 18. 10; *merne* 21. 18; *gehrine* I 2. 13; *ongææn* 25. 1; *ongæn* 25. 6; v. S. § 214, 3; B. § 530.

Final *g* has disappeared in: *sunnadæ* 12. 18; *we* 10. 10.

The ending *-ig* is shortened to *i* medially and finally in: *sundria* I 9. 17; *syndrio* I 17. 12; *efenmeti* 26. 26; *drui* I 19. 1; *dryi* 12. 10; *dryia* 12. 43; *cyni* 18. 23. *-ig* has disappeared in *bærssynnum* I 14. 2; cf. also *hryum* 7. 16 in the second paragraph of this section.

c is written for *g* in *cyðic* 26. 73.

g in the combination *ng* appears as *c, cg, gc, in*: *hyncerdon* 12. 1; *cepinc* 22. 5; *ceigunc* I 15. 1; *femercinc, mercunces* I 9. 19; *plontunc* 15. 13; *suigiunc* 24. 28; *ðoncunco* 26. 27; *winnuncum* I 19. 10; *esprynca* I 6. 14; *gemenced* 27. 34; *gespranc* I 6. 2; *sprānc* 9. 26 mg.; *spyne* 27. 48; *hyncgrað* 5. 6, &c. (3); *hincgrig, gehyncgerde* 25. 35, &c. (3); *abloncgne* 26. 8; *ernineg* I 14. 7; *gristbiotuncg* 24. 9; *lesineg* I 6. 4; *ðreatuncg* I 18. 9; *costuncg* 24. 9; *stencgum* 26. 55 (2); *ðuuenegu* 23. 5; *gimencged* I 3. 9; *hyngcerde* 21. 18; *espryngce* I 2. 11; *tungcla* 16. 3; v. *Bülbring*, *Angl. Beib.* IX, 76; cf. § 42. *g* changes with *c* in: *gregisc* I 1. 3, &c. (beside *crcisc* I 2. 8, &c.); v. also § 42.

Inorganic *g* occurs in *gwona* 19. 20; *wgloana* I 19. 16.

Unexplained: *lvgena* I 1. 8.

§ 44. h.

h is common before all vowels, and occurs in the combinations hl, hr, hn, hw. For the sound-value of h v. Lind.
 § 44. As in the Dur. Rit., so in Mt., h occurs in the above combinations, and sometimes before vowels where it is not etymologically correct; on the other hand, historical h is sometimes omitted before l, r, n, w.

The examples of inorganic h are: before l: hlafe I 21. 12; hlifigende 27. 36, &c. (6); hlætmosto 27. 64, &c. (10); gehlutes 8. 20; hlačas 22. 4; gehlaðad, toge-, 22; 3. 8; hlatuas 23. 16, &c. (2); hleofoa 23. 32; before r: hrahton 26. 50; hræs 8. 32; hræfneð 6. 24; gehrestas 8. 11; hreconlice 28. 8; hregnað 5. 45; hrihð I 2. 4; hrippo 25. 26, &c. (2); hriordadun 25. 37; gehriordad I 19. 15; hripes 7. 2, &c. (5); hripemenn 13. 39, &c. (2); hripnis 13. 29; hryno 13. 11; hrypes, ge-, 6. 19; 12. 29; hrust 6. 20; gehrine I 2. 13; before n: hnett 4. 18; togehnealacede 3. 2; gehnehuade 10. 7; before s: hogahscip I 8. 13; before vowels: hearo 13. 43; haaldum 5. 21; his I 4. 6 (2); haldormenn 8. 13; herning I 18. 10; heofone (clibanus) 6. 30; ædheaw 15. 15; æthewene I 1. 11.

h has been dropped before l in: lingendes 26. 7; gelion-odon 14. 9; lutorlice I 8. 8; lydeng 25. 6; lysnas 13. 8; before r in: rof 8. 8; reafa 26. 6; before w in wer I 21. 3 (B. § 480, anm.); before a vowel in: iorodes 13. 52; f'ogas 6. 24; unsefuntig I 2. 4, &c. (2); is 1. 21 (2).

Initial h has disappeared in: nabbas 14. 17, &c.; booffic I 5. 8; in the second member of the compounds: ondeto 7. 23; eofut 18. 25; ebalsas 9. 3.

- Medial h appears as g in wigbed 23. 19 (S. § 222, anm. 1).

Medial h and hw are lost before vowels, as in: ðyrl I 6. 1; onfoeð 7. 8; seas 13. 17; scoea 10. 10; gsceoe 3. 11; woes 22. 18; gesiið 6. 4 (S. § 166, 6); ea 7. 25; eftatea I 1. 6; fleas 23. 33; getwiedon 28. 17; ðwas 15. 2; tenu

I 1. 1, &c.; slæs 5. 39; suer 18. 24; holas (?) 8. 20 (B. § 529); suire 18. 6 (S. § 218, anm. 1; B. § 529); huelum I 8. 1 (B. § 217).

Geminated h does not occur; simplified hh is found in: nestpoħa 10. 10; eħera 12. 1 (S. § 220, anm. 1).

ht as a rule remains unchanged, as in: biboht 26. 9; næhta 4. 2, &c.; exceptions are: trachterum I 2. 1; embichta I 5. 4; getachte I 17. 4; ȝocht I 7. 16; recta I 7. 17 (2); tocnuicte I 3. 15; embigto 25. 44.

hs appears regularly as x in: wæxas 6. 28; lixeð 18. 43; lixung I 16. 13; givixla I 3. 1; sex 17. 1; but h is lost in wæstmas 7. 18; sestre 5. 15; seista I 3. 16 (S. § 221, 2).

For ȝð, hð occurs in mohða 6. 19 (S. § 199, anm. 2).

h remains, if, through vowel-syncope, a surd consonant follows, as in gesihða 17. 9.

On the other hand h disappears between a vowel and a voiced consonant, as in: fleam (?) 24. 20 (S. § 222, 2; Cos.¹ § 59, 7); gesene 6. 16; wgloana I 19. 16; hera 11. 11; v. S. § 166, 6; in the compounds heannisum 21. 9 (S. § 222, anm. 2); neoleces 26. 46; but h remains in: genehwas 19. 5; fihles 9. 16 (S. § 222, anm. 4).

Final h and h(=hw) are regularly preserved, as in: feh 27. 6; fleh 2. 13; ofslah 5. 21; onfoh 2. 13; geseh 8. 4; wohfull 18. 32.

Final h appears as hg in: wohgfull 20. 15; as gh in: heghstald I 14. 11; heghseðel 23. 22; gesægh 2. 16; v. also § 43.

h and hw appear as ch, chw in: chim I 22. 10; chuæt 18. 18; chua 5. 41; chuæt 18. 19; chuele 15. 20 (2); chwæm I 9. 13; v. B. § 480.

For the interchange of h and c v. § 42.

h of Lat. hymnus has disappeared in efne 26. 30.

Unexplained: atih 18. 27.

CHAPTER XL. MISCELLANEOUS PHENOMENA

§ 45. Gemination of Consonants.

In the matter of consonant gemination, there is apparently great irregularity in Mt., as in the other Gospels. Instead of an etymologically single consonant, the geminated form occurs; and sometimes etymological gemination is simplified, though this occurs less often.

Luick (Archiv. CII, p. 58 ff.) finds in this apparent irregularity the written evidence of the change of vowel-length already begun in L. North., and developed in ME. According to him, the lengthening of short final consonants occurs after a short, strongly-stressed vowel, without full length being yet attained, as in: *v^ritt* I 2. 15; *gebedd* 17. 21; *scipp* 8. 24. Through analogy, then, is explained the common occurrence of forms with medial gemination, as in *w^rriotto* 26. 54, &c.

Furthermore, Luick deduces three general facts which seem to have escaped Fücksel, and which should be noted here:

1. Etymological gemination in the four Gospels is for the most part preserved; variation occurs as a rule in syllables of secondary stress, as in: *deadsynig* 5. 21; *cneorese* 7. 11; *mesapreasta* 2. 4, &c.

2. Etymologically single consonants are doubled frequently after short syllables, seldom after long.

3. Etymologically single medial consonants remain single before another consonant (I note as exceptions: *fylledda* I 17. 18; *godcunndmæhtea* 19. 28; *sellennde* I 17. 13, which may be regarded as scribal errors), but frequently occur doubled between vowels, especially after short vowels, and occasionally after long ones. This gemination happens oftenest with *t*, *c*, *p*, *m*. Of the remaining consonants *d* and *s* are many times doubled, but only in a few words, and never in the majority of cases.

These general considerations are most appropriate for this study. For the more detailed results of Luick's research, the reader is referred to the article itself. It may be added, that inasmuch as Luick has given the numerical proportion between the writing of words with gemination and those without, it seems unnecessary to record all the passages in Mt. where these phenomena occur.

1. Germanic gemination of *l* occurs in: sæltwælla I 1. 7; gespilles 6. 20; scillinga 18. 28; fulle 23. 25; godspell 4. 23; fallas 4. 9; fæll 7. 27; gefaellnise 1. 12 (B. § 175); all 3. 10; galla 27. 34; fillenu 3. 4; fulle (amphora) 26. 7; of *r* in: stearra I 16. 3; fearr 16. 22; carr 17. 19; cerre 12. 44; afirres 7. 23; torr 2. 33; gesparrado (WGmc.?) 6. 6; farras 22. 4; of *tt* in: bytto 9. 17 (v. PG. p. 335); of *n* in: gewunna 26. 53; conn 26. 72; cunnade 1. 25; onginnes I 3. 18; monn 17. 8; menniscas I 17. 7; pinn I 2. 18; winnes 11. 28; acenned 1. 20, sunna 5. 45; penning 20. 2; blinnes 24. 12; of *m* in: hwommas I 6. 3; of *s* in: cyssende 26. 48; wisse 27. 18; of *ðð* in: oððe 17. 25 (S. § 226); of *p* in: geyppe 13. 25.

2. WGmc. gemination before *j* occurs in: wæccas 24. 42; bidde 26. 36; henne 23. 37; bycganne 25. 10; liccende 8. 14; sæcgas 28. 10; wille 26. 39; synno 9. 2; cynn 3. 7; mett 6. 25; sittende 20. 30; acwelled 15. 4; sibbe 10. 34; bewoedded 1. 18; middangeard 18. 7; middel I 2. 6; tomiddes I 2. 6; forhycganne I 20. 11; recceras I 2. 11; reccenise, cynn-, I 2. 7; 1. 18; hrycgas 13. 7; helle 11. 23; habbað 21. 26; læssa 11. 11; getrymmas I 17. 5; sella 7. 6; netta 4. 20; ellðiodig 25. 14; geduellas 22. 29; nytt 21. 3.

fj>bb in gehebbes 12. 11; rzj>rr in merras 22. 29; zlj>lb in cnyllas 7. 7; lr> sella 12. 12.

3. Gemination, as the result of the coming together of two originally separated consonants, occurs in læððo 6. 24; clænnise 10. 8 mg.; efennise I 19. 12; geleafful 24. 45; leafful 25. 21; efttatea I 1. 6; gemænnise I 7. 3; minne

10. 22; ðinne 9. 14; stænna 26. 7; underra I 9. 9; geddeddon 27. 32; oðerra I 8. 17; gemoette 20. 6; gehyde 25. 25; gelædde 27. 3; byrðenna 23. 4, &c.; enne 5. 18.

4. Geminatïon of simple consonants after a short vowel occurs as in: ageætt 26. 7; agotten 9. 17; accenned 2. 2; accennise I 22. 13; æcced 27. 48; assales I 21. 2; avritti I 3. 4; awritta I 7. 3; awritten 2. 5, &c.; bæccum 23. 4; blaccum I 4. 2; begettes 17. 27, &c.; bissenno I 18. 20, &c.; boddages 11. 5; brydloppum 25. 10; camella 3. 4; clioppæs 12. 19; cotte 6. 6; cymmeð 24. 5; ettes 11. 19, &c.; frumma I 5. 3, &c.; geatt 16. 18; gearrwas 17. 13; gebedd 17. 21; gebrecced 21. 44; genimmæs 4. 6, &c.; geoc 11. 30; gewutta I 9. 1, &c.; gewarpp I 21. 3; gristbittung (?) 13. 42, &c.; hnædd 19. 20; inn 11. 23, &c. (occurring doubled frequently as prefix); lattera 12. 45; meregrotta 7. 6 (3); mynittre 22. 19; nomma I 2. 12; bæcgling (?) I 3. 10 (cf. B. § 495, anm. 2; F. p. 57); sabbat' 12. 11, &c. (2); sæccendum I 20. 20, &c.; scipp 8. 24, &c.; ðætt 13. 20; sætt 26. 55, &c.; sprecca 10. 20, &c.; stoc 6. 2; summum 26. 18, &c.; tuigge 24. 32, &c.; ðæcille 5. 15, &c.; ungerecc 26. 5; uðuutta 8. 19, &c.; waccen 14. 25; uinwirccendum I 21. 8; wlittig 23. 27; wæss 1. 19; wossa 20. 27; wossanne 17. 4; writtsæx I 2. 18; wuritta I 1. 2, &c.; wutta (inf.) I 3. 4, &c.; toslitten 9. 16, &c.; amm 8. 9, &c.; biðð 26. 54; bræcg 26. 26 (cf. bæcgling above); gebrecc 14. 19; nimmende I 10. 3, &c.; arras 9. 25, &c.; sceaccas 10. 14; uracco I 1. 9.

5. Geminatïon of consonants after originally long vowels occurs in (§ 23, VIII): ætt 11. 18; ecce 25. 41; eccanne I 1. 9; casseres 22. 21; f'letta I 19. 4, &c.; geboettande I 3. 8; gebrucca 6. 25; gehatten I 2. 16; gett 17. 5 (B. § 549, anm.); huætte 13. 30; lyttel 2. 6, &c.; nann I 2. 8; neddes I 1. 1; oððer I 9. 11; sellra 10. 31 (B. § 339); slittað I 1. 18, &c.; soeccanna I 1. 13; suppas 16. 28; cicceno 23. 37 (B. § 195); ðreattas 15. 30, &c.; ðreaddende I 17. 4; wæce 12. 20; ðrittig 13. 8; herranne 13. 9; inwritting I 4. 8;

gefittes 12. 19, &c.; fitta I 1. 12; perhaps the loanword: allmissa I 17. 6; ællmessa 6. 4 (v. §§ 1, 17). For the gemination in bitterlice 26. 75 v. S. § 228.

6. Simplification of gemination does not as a rule occur at the end of a word; v. examples in the paragraphs above; it does occur in: men 26. 18; geðen 12. 13; wohful 13. 38; wigbed 5. 23; ænigmon, aldor-, 12. 19; 1. 18 mg.; wil 5. 40; hruc I 7. 18; met 3. 4; sel 5. 42; also quite often in the suffix, -nis: alesenis 20. 28; degolnis 6. 6; endebrednis I 2. 16; foressægdnis I 2. 16; herenis I 6. 10; hripnis 13. 29; ond-spyrnis 18. 7; ongelicnes I 17. 7; setnes I 13. 9; smirinis 26. 12; unfegernis 24. 15 mg.; unrehtwisnis 24. 12; wif-giornis 15. 19; wiðirweardnis I 2. 2.

7. Gemination is frequently simplified in the interior of words at the end of a syllable, as in: alne 27. 27; alra I 3. 12 (3); midla I 14. 15; mine 18. 20; wohfulro 12. 45; cerde 21. 12; fulwiht 3. 7; unawoemdo 19. 12; wuraðo 3. 7; frumcende 1. 25; læðo 5. 43 (2). Also, after consonants in compound words, as in: sibsume 5. 9; wohfulnise 22. 18; cynreswu I 14. 3; synfullra 11. 19; synges I 20. 13; latua 2. 6; gfylnisse I 16. 14; ungeleafulnise (S. § 231, 4) 17. 20; wyrtruma 3. 10; feltun 15. 17; giornisse I 17. 6, &c.; hun-teantigsiða I 20. 17.

Simplification occurs always after r, as in: burna I 2. 10; arn 28. 9; iornende 28. 8; bernas 5. 15; ðirda 17. 23; byrn 20. 12; wuyrse 27. 64.

8. Simplification appears in unstressed syllables, as in: ondeteð I 6. 12; deglice 20. 17; besuingene (asm.) 27. 26; gebundene 27. 2 (S. § 231, 4).

9. Furthermore, there is simplification of older gemination in: bælnis 20. 13; diopnise 13. 11; geliornise 28. 16, &c. (86) (beside ecnis 21. 19; licnesse 6. 27, &c. (89)); habas I 4. 9, &c.; selo 20. 4, &c.; embehtane 20. 28; ðisum 17. 20, &c.; aðenede 8. 3; bibycendum 25. 9, &c.; bidas 22. 20; cnysende 7. 8, &c.; geteled 7. 24; hrygum 13. 7; liges 8. 6, &c.; nestpoha 10. 10; onsæcæ 16. 24, &c.; wæcas

26. 41; mones 5. 27; mæta 26. 17; gesetet 3. 10, &c.; dwoelende I 20. 12; ehera I 18. 20.

The *i* in *ripa* (*rippa*, *rioppa*) is unstable (S. § 382, anm. 3); likewise in *ripe* (*messis*). The following forms occur: *hrippo* 25. 26; *hripes* 25. 24; *rioppas* 6. 26; *hrippe* 13. 39; *hripes* 9. 37 (2); *hrippes* 9. 38; *hripnis*, *hripemenn* 13. 39; *hrippemonnum* 13. 30; cf. § 3.

For *locete* 13. 35; *loceteð* I 7. 5 v. § 4; F. § 45, p. 58; for *felleread* 27. 28 v. F. p. 25.

For *ðicce* 13. 15, cf. B. § 497; Kl.-L., Eng. Ety.; Björkman, Scand. Loan-Words in ME. p. 147.

The *cc* in *ticceno* I 22. 3 seems to be something of a *crux*; cf. Wilmanns, Deutsche Gram. I² p. 169, §§ 135, 136; Kl., PG. I² p. 383, § 63; Kl., NStB. § 58, a; Kauffmann, Beit. XII, 520 ff.

Unexplained: *gegræppde* 14. 31; *fræppigdon* 21. 37; v. § 1.

§ 46. The Groups *ft*, *ht*, *st*.

All labials (sometimes *gut.*) + *t* = *ft*, *ht*, as in: *sceafta* I 14. 9; *geworhte* I 2. 9; *gebohton* 27. 7; *geðryhton* I 3. 4; *aht* 18. 28; *mæhtes* 14. 25; v. S. § 407.

Dental + *t* = *st* in: *gewiste* 16. 18; *fostrað* 3. 4; *ss* in: *wisse* 27. 18.

§ 47. Grammatical Change.

Change of *s* and *r*: *glaeren* I 8. 3; *geceas* 12. 18; *gecoren* 20. 16; *gedyrstig* 22. 64 (S. § 234).

Change of *ð* and *d*: *gewearð* 1. 22; *gewordeno* I 17. 12; *gecweðas* 6. 31; *gecwedon* 10. 4; perhaps *mið*: *mid* 26. 72 (F. § 47).

Change of *h* and *g*: *slæs* 5. 39; *slog* 26. 51; *monslaga* I 16. 15; *onfoas* 10. 14; *onfoeng* 8. 17; *gesihða* 17. 9; *gesegon* 2. 2; *getegðeges* (?) 23. 23; v. § 2, II; F. § 47.

§ 48. Svarabhakti.

For the development of secondary vowels before syllabic l, r, m, n, v. § 27.

The following inorganic vowels have developed in some words with l, r, hg, ht; fylegdon 27. 55; ģorofra 26. 17; burug 12. 25; byrig 1. 3; gebirigde 27. 34; bibyrignisa 27. 7; fyrhto 28. 4; wyrhta 13. 55; worohte 19. 4; woroh-ton 20. 12; v. B. §§ 447, 448; S. § 213, anm.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ✓ BJÖRKMAN, E., *Scandinavian Loan-Words in Middle English*, I. Halle, 1901.
- BOSWORTH-TOLLER, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. [= B.-T.]
- ✓ BROWN, E. M., *Die Sprache der Rushworthglossen zum Evangelium Matthäus und der Mersische Dialekt*. Göttingen, i, 1891; ii (English), 1892. [= Brown.]
- BÜLBRING, K. D., *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*. Heidelberg, 1902. [= B. or EB.]
- *Anglia*, Beiblatt vii, ix, x, xi, xii.
- COOK, A. S., *A Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels*. Halle, 1894.
- *Grammar of Old English*. Boston, 1899.
- COSIJN, P. J., *Altwestsächsische Grammatik*. Haag, 1888. [= Cos.]
- *Kurzgefasste Altwestsächsische Grammatik*. Leiden, 1893. [= Cos.¹]
- ✓ DAVIDSON, C., *The Phonology of the Stressed Vowels of Beowulf*. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vi, 106-133. [= Davidson.]
- ✓ DIETER, F., *Darstellung der Altenglischen Laut- und Flexionslehre*, in *Laut- und Formenlehre der Altgermanischen Dialekte*. Leipzig, 1898-1900. [= Dieter.]
- FISCHER, F., *The Stressed Vowels of Ælfric's Homilies*. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, iv, No. 2.
- ✓ FÜCHSEL, H., *Die Sprache der Northumbrischen Interlinearversion zum Johannes-Evangelium*, *Anglia*, xxiv, 1-99. [= F.]
- ✓ Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie, i². Strassburg, 1901. [= PG.]

- HALL, C., *The Student's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. London, 1894. [= Hall.]
- ✓ HILMER, H., *Zur Altnordhumbrischen Laut- und Flexionslehre*. Goslar, 1880. [= Hilmer.]
- ✓ KALUZA, M., *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache*. Berlin, 1900. [= Kal.]
- ✓ KLUGE, F., *Nominale Stammbildungslehre der Altgermanischen Dialekte*. Halle, 1899. [= Kl., NStB.]
- *Geschichte der Englischen Sprache*, in Paul's Grundriss, p. 926 ff.
- *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*. Strassburg, 1899. [= Kl., Wb.]
- ✓ KLUGE-LUTZ, *English Etymology*. Strassburg, 1898. [= Kl.-L., Eng. Ety.]
- LEA, E. M., *The Language of the Northumbrian Gloss to St. Mark, Anglia*, xvi, 62-206. [= Lea.]
- LINDELÖF, U., *Die Sprache des Rituals von Durham*. Helsingfors, 1890. [= Lind.]
- *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Altnorthumbrischen*. Mémoires de la Société Néo-philologique à Helsingfors, i (1893), 219 ff. [= Mém. etc.]
- *Die Südnorthumbrische Mundart des 10. Jahrhunderts*. Bonn, 1901. [= Lind.²]
- LUICK, K., *Über die Entwicklung von ae. ü, i, und die Dehnung in Offener Silbe überhaupt*. Archiv, cii, 43-84.
- MORSBACH, L., *Mittelenglische Grammatik*, i. Halle, 1896. [= Morsbach.]
- New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. [= NED.]
- NOREN, A., *Altisländische und Altnorwegische Grammatik*². Halle, 1892.
- PAUL, H., *Zur Geschichte des Germanischen Vokalismus*. Beit. iv, vi.
- POGATSCHER, A., *Zur Lautlehre der Griechischen, Lateinischen, und Romanischen Lehnwörter im Altenglischen*. Strassburg, 1888. [= Pog.]
- SIEVERS, E., *Angelsächsische Grammatik*. Halle, 1898. [= S.]
- Beit. viii, ix, x, xi, xviii, xxiv.

- SIEVERS, E., Zum Angelsächsischen Vocalismus. Decanatsprogramm. Leipzig, 1900. [= Decanatsp.]
- SKEAT, W. W., The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian Versions. Cambridge, 1871-87. [= Lindis.]
- STRATMANN-BRADLEY, Middle English Dictionary.
- STREITBERG, W., Urgermanische Grammatik. Heidelberg, 1896. [= Streitberg.]
- SWEET, H., History of English Sounds². Oxford, 1888. [= Sweet, HES.]
- The Student's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. Oxford, 1897.
- UHLENBECK, C. C., Kurzgefasstes Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache. Amsterdam, 1900. [= Uhlenbeck.]
- WHITNEY, Century Dictionary. [= CD.]
- ZEUNER, R., Die Sprache des Kentischen Psalters. Halle, 1881.

-
- Anglia, Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie. [= Angl.]
- Anglia, Beiblatt. [= Angl. Beib.]
- Anzeiger für Deutsches Alterthum [= Anz. für d. Altert.]
- Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen. [= Archiv.]
- Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Litteratur. [= Beit.]
- Englische Studien. [= Eng. Stud.]
- Indogermanische Forschungen. Zeitschrift für Indogermanische Sprachen und Alterthumskunde. [= IE.]
- Modern Language Notes. [= MLN.]
- Publications of the Modern Language Association of America. [= PMLA.]

W7011

YALE STUDIES IN ENGLISH

ALBERT S. COOK, EDITOR

- I. The Foreign Sources of Modern English Versification. CHARLTON M. LEWIS, Ph.D. \$0.50.
- II. Ælfric : A New Study of his Life and Writings. CAROLINE LOUISA WHITE, Ph.D. \$1.50.
- III. The Life of St. Cecilia, from MS. Ashmole 43 and MS. Cotton Tiberius E. VII, with Introduction, Variants, and Glossary. BERTHA ELLEN LOVEWELL, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- IV. Dryden's Dramatic Theory and Practice. MARGARET SHEERWOOD, Ph.D. \$0.50.
- V. Studies in Jonson's Comedy. ELISABETH WOODBRIDGE, Ph.D. \$0.50.
- VI. A Glossary of the West Saxon Gospels, Latin-West Saxon and West Saxon-Latin. MATTIE ANSTICE HARRIS, Ph.D. \$1.50.
- VII. Andreas : The Legend of St. Andrew, translated from the Old English, with an Introduction. ROBERT KILBURN ROOT. \$0.50.
- VIII. The Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems. CHARLES GROSVENOR OSGOOD, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- IX. A Guide to the Middle English Metrical Romances dealing with English and Germanic Legends, and with the Cycles of Charlemagne and of Arthur. ANNA HUNT BILLINGS, Ph.D. \$1.50.
- X. The Earliest Lives of Dante, translated from the Italian of Giovanni Boccaccio and Lionardo Bruni Aretino. JAMES ROBINSON SMITH. \$0.75.
- XI. A Study in Epic Development. IRENE T. MYERS, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XII. The Short Story. HENRY SEIDEL CANBY. \$0.30.
- XIII. King Alfred's Old English Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies. HENRY LEE HARGROVE, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XIV. The Language of the Northumbrian Gloss to the Gospel of Saint Matthew. Part I. Phonology. EMILY HOWARD FOLEY, Ph.D. \$0.75.



